THE

LABOUR MONTHLY

A MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR

Editor : R. PALME DUTT

Volume 18 September, 1936 Number 9

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Notes of the Month
BRITAIN AND SPAIN
R. P. D.

Spain Fights for Democracy
"U. H. P."

The World Congress for Peace
SIR NORMAN ANGELL

Problems of Trade Unionism
PERCY ALLOTT and others

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Editor: R. PALME DUTT

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NOTES OF THE MONTH

Spain and the Fascist Offensive—Armed Struggle—International Situation and Unity—The Fatal Contradiction—Spain and Britain—Churchill's Ultimatum—"Neither expected nor pleasant"—War of World Reaction on Spanish People—Decisive Foreign Rôle—The Question of Foreign Supplies—Legality Thrown to the Winds—British Pressure on People's Front France—The Key Question of Unity in Britain

IN letters of flame and blood the issue of the present era is being written for all to read. The murderous war let loose by Fascism in Spain, with the open support of the world forces of Fascism, confirms once anew, even for the most sceptical, the truth of Lenin's dictum that the path of the proletariat also in Western Europe lies through "heavy civil war." What the Communist warnings for the two decades since the world war had not yet had time to teach the mass of the workers, Fascism is teaching. From the Hitler terror in Germany since 1933 (which in three years has slain ten thousand and condemned a quarter of a million human beings to six hundred thousand years imprisonment or 600 times the record of Bismarck's twelve-year anti-socialist repression), through the bloody bombardment of Austria and the Asturias in 1934, through the ceaseless military preparations of Fascism and open violation of treaties, through the Italian brigand war on Abyssinia in 1935, to the combined Fascist war on the Spanish people in 1936, the fascist war offensive in Europe is advancing in widening waves. Every weakness, every hesitation or division in the popular ranks, only draws on the offensive and prepares the way for its extension. To-day all, even the most legalist democrats, liberals, reformists, progressives, pacifists, are compelled increasingly to recognise the inevitable struggle against an enemy that knows no law and no restraint, and to recognise that all they stand for is bound up with the victory of the armed workers' struggle in Spain. In

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this battle for life against destruction and barbarism we need to unite all forces in order to secure by every means the victory of the Spanish popular struggle. This issue transcends all others to-day.

"ARMED struggle, not of their seeking, has begun and must be carried through." Thus the Labour Party organ, the *Daily Herald*, of July 20, 1936. Seventeen years ago the First Manifesto of the Communist International proclaimed :

> Civil war is *forced upon* the labouring classes by their arch-enemies. The working class must answer blow for blow, if it will not renounce its own object and its own future, which is at the same time the future of all humanity.
>
> The Communist Parties, far from conjuring up civil war artificially, rather strive to shorten its duration as much as possible—in any case it has become an iron necessity—to minimise the number of its victims, and above all to secure victory for the proletariat.

For seventeen years this issue, on which Communism has from the outset spoken the hard truth which all to-day are beginning to recognise, has been made the basis of attacks by the MacDonalds and Morrisons against Communism as the party of "violence" and of "civil war." Two years ago, in the face of the armed struggles in Austria, when the socialist and communist workers fought shoulder to shoulder, the Labour Party organ was compelled to declare on February 14, 1934 :

> They could do no other. Civil war was forced upon them.

And to-day, in the face of the armed struggles in Spain, when the Socialist and Communist Parties are fighting in a united front, the Labour Party organ is once again compelled to declare :

> Armed struggle, not of their seeking, has begun and must be carried through.

Who, then, was right or understood better the conditions of Western Europe? The Communist International, or the MacDonalds and Morrisons? In the burning flames of reality the sophistries shrivel and crumble.

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AND yet, in the face of this situation, when the supreme need is unity of all forces in support of the Spanish struggle, when the united socialist and communist workers of Spain are fighting and dying in "armed struggle not of their seeking," the same official organ of the Labour Party, which proclaims this armed struggle inevitable and calls for its victory, at the very same time denounces the Communist Party as "a party of violence" (August 13, 1936) and on this ground opposes the same unity in Britain, which is indispensable to transform the international situation and give the necessary aid for victory in Spain. This double book-keeping would be incredible, if it were not true. In one breath it is declared that "armed struggle must be carried through." In the next breath the Communist Party, which is spending itself in the forefront of the common fight to carry it through, is denounced as a party supporting armed struggle. Alternatively, the supreme issue of the present struggle in Spain is declared to be the fight for democracy; and in the next breath the Communist Party is derided as "reformist" and "pseudo-liberal" because it puts in the forefront at the present stage the fight for democratic rights against Fascism and does not declare the immediate issue to be socialism. In one and the same article, Morrison (in *Forward*, August 1) proclaims Hats Off to the People's Front in Spain: "We British Labour people raise our hats to the workers in Spain, men and women; this mighty proletarian army has made a wonderful fight"; and in the same article he proceeds to show that a People's Front must not be realised in Britain: "Still less is it wise to compare Spain and Britain; Spanish conditions are much less like British than French. . . . I still believe and hope that Socialism can come to Britain without bloody revolution". (German Social Democracy also entertained this "belief and hope.")

IT is evident that there is here a glaring contradiction between the burning realities and needs of the international situation, which all are compelled to recognise, and the policy for home consumption, which is still maintained in disastrous opposition

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to these realities. This contradiction is at the root of the weakness in the international front of the popular forces, which plays into the hands of the fascist offensive. The local narrow sectarian opposition to the united front, derived from the days of MacDonaldism, from the denial of the class struggle or the possibility of armed struggle in the countries of Western Europe, is maintained in the face of the object-lesson of present facts, and lets down the whole front of struggle. The debit side of the account wipes out the credit side. *It is correct to recognise the urgent importance of the armed struggle of the Spanish people and to call for all support to it. But that support can only be effectively realised if the united front and the People's Front is realised in Britain.* It is the absence of the People's Front in Britain, and the consequent continued dominance of the National Government with its fascist sympathies, which leaves the free hand to the Fascist Powers to promote Fascism in Europe, while strangling the rôle of the People's Front Government in France. This international aspect of the Spanish struggle, and our consequent task, is the most important for us to realise in Britain.

SPAIN is not Britain? So, too, Germany was not Italy, and Austria was not Germany. These truisms of the differences of conditions not only cover blindness to the basic character of the capitalist class dictatorship in all countries beneath the manifold differences, and above all to the unity of emergency methods to which every privileged class finally resorts when its privileges are threatened. They also cover—and this is more urgently serious for the immediate situation—blindness to the international character of the front of reaction which is built up on the basis of the Spanish struggle. The front of reaction in Spain is not only Spanish, nor only Nazi German and Italian Fascist, but also to a certain degree British. Spain may not be Britain, but there is much in the forces behind the reaction in Spain, and especially in the powerful capitalist interests behind it, that is directly British. And the British ruling class has no such illusions or blindness as to the unity of the struggle. For this it is only necessary to study the British Conservative press, which by its open class-solidarity

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with the Spanish reaction betrays with abundant clearness the intentions of the British ruling class in the event of need in Britain.

CONSIDER for a moment the significance of the language of the strongest individual leader of British Conservatism, Churchill, in connection with Spain :

> It is idle to claim that a constitutional and parliamentary régime is legally or morally entitled to the obedience of all classes, when it is actually being subverted and devoured from day to day by Communism. A constitutional government, to be worthy of the name, must prove itself capable of preserving law and order, and protecting life, freedom and property. If it fails to enforce these guarantees, no parliamentary system can endure. (Winston Churchill, " The Spanish Tragedy," in the *Evening Standard*, August 10, 1936.)

There is no excuse for misunderstanding this language, which is the statement, not of a Spanish reactionary, but of a foremost leader of the British ruling class. Parliamentary democracy will be permitted only so long as it maintains the rights of " property," i.e., so long as it maintains capitalism. Once these rights are invaded, legality and constitutionalism go by the board, and " no parliamentary system can endure." The ultimatum is open, and—note it well, Morrison—it is a British ultimatum. The Labour Movement will do well to pay heed to this language of the real rulers of Britain, and not to be doped by the assurances of a Morrison that " Spanish conditions are not like British," and that the danger of " violence " comes from Communism.

IN the face of this open class-consciousness and contempt for democracy on the part of the British ruling class, the organ of the Labour Party leadership can only express its pained surprise :

> That Conservative democrats should be occupying an ambiguous position when the facts in Spain are so crystal-clear was neither expected, nor is it pleasant. (*Daily Herald*, July 30. 1936.)

Not " expected " ? To anyone really acquainted with conditions in Britain, and not living in an atmosphere of doped schoolbooks and Baldwin's after-dinner speeches on " democracy," to anyone with any acquaintance with the whole

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record of the British ruling class on the side of reaction from the Napoleonic wars through the American Civil War, China, India, Tsarism and Russian intervention, nothing else was to be expected. The workers' leader in Britain who does not "expect" this, who prefers to dismiss it from his thoughts as not "pleasant," who does not daily calculate on this as the essence of the realities he has to face is not fit for his post.

THIS is no war between two sections of the Spanish people. It is a war of the world forces of reaction and Fascism against the Spanish people and its elected Government. In order to fight the Spanish people, world reaction has had to draw on foreign mercenaries, the debased victims of poverty and violence from every capitalist country in the globe, and on conscripted Africans, uprooted from their homes and trained only for the purposes of capitalist savagery and barbarism. Against the heroic Spanish people, foreign arms, machine guns and aeroplanes have been poured in from Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, and also—until the working class opposition and strike threat of the National Aircraft Shop Stewards Council compelled the embargo—from Britain. The financial basis of the rebellion comes equally from abroad. Behind the interventionist war in Spain stand Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, the Catholic Church and the most powerful reactionary sections of finance-capital in Britain and the United States. The representatives of international finance-capital, not only German and Italian, but also British, French and American, are gathered in the counter-revolutionary head-quarters in Burgos like vultures waiting for their prey.

WITHOUT this foreign aid, the handful of militarist generals, feudal landowners and priestly oppressors could not have held out against the Spanish people for a week. This is admitted in the news messages even of the British Conservative pro-fascist press :

> The attitude of the civil population seems to be proving decisive. All over the country they have turned out with rifles, shotguns, pistols and any other weapons to hand in defence of the Government. (*Times*, July 21, 1936.)

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> General Franco, the insurgent leader in the South, dare not weaken his forces to march on Madrid because Andalusia has strong pro-Government sympathies. Similarly in Saragossa the insurgent garrison cannot leave for a march on the capital until they are assured that the townsmen would not immediately join the Government. (*Times*, August 17, 1936.)

This is the situation of an invading army of occupation, not of a country divided by civil war. The tactics adopted by the counter-revolution correspond to this situation ; and the methods of holding the occupied areas closely resemble the methods of Italian Fascism in the occupied areas of Abyssinia :

> A typical example of militarist insurgent tactics to date has been the dispatch from headquarters—notably Seville—of detachments, about 100 strong, of Moors or foreign legionaries by motor lorry. On arriving at the outskirts of a dubious village they fire a few rounds from mountain guns, an aeroplane drops some bombs, and they then advance. Unless the resistance is too severe, they scour the village shoot all suspected persons, and retire to their bases, repeating the process later if necessary. (*Times*, August 13, 1936.)

And this is in the areas of occupation, presented in the international press as " insurgent " or " anti-Government " areas.

IT is evident that in this situation the decisive question is the question of foreign supplies. In order to make possible the foreign supplies of international reaction against the Spanish people, all pretence of legality has been thrown to the winds. If the workers of Western Europe still hold any lingering legalist illusions in the constitutional professions of the ruling class, the example of Spain—the open military coup against a democratically elected majority Government, with the unconcealed applause and support of the most powerful capitalist press in the remaining parliamentary-democratic countries—will deal a heavy blow to such illusions, following on and confirming anew the examples of Italy, Germany, Austria and France, not to mention pre-war Ulster. But with Spain, the same process of the contempt of the ruling class for all legality, once the issue of the class struggle is at stake, has been demonstrated with merciless precision on the *international* plane. This lesson is of burning importance for the future of the class struggle in Europe.

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THERE is no question of the facts. By international law a recognised legal Government has the right to purchase any supplies it requires from countries with which it is in relations ; while the affording of any supplies to a revolt against that Government is an offence against international law, for which heavy damages can be demanded and have been paid in the past (as Britain had to pay compensation for its supplies to the reactionary South in the American Civil War). Yet what has happened ? The Fascist powers have poured in supplies, arms, aeroplanes and personnel to the illegal rebellion in Spain without any protest from the other Powers ; while the British Government has proclaimed, and thereby compelled the French Government to follow a corresponding line (reinforced only by the desperate attempt to secure from the Fascist Powers a promise of a similar line), a policy of " neutrality," i.e., " neutrality " between law and illegality. In international law no such " neutrality " is possible. Its practical effect is to deny supplies to the democratic Government in Spain, while supplies pour in against it from the Fascist Powers. History knows no parallel to such a position. Even in the case of the British supplies to Kolchak and Denikin, Britain had not legally recognised the Soviet Government, and the Supreme Council had made a declaration " recognising " Kolchak as Ruler of Russia. Here the illegality is open and unconcealed. It arouses no tremor in the British press, normally so concerned for legal rectitude, if it can be used against the popular side. Thus on the Italian supply of aeroplanes to the Spanish revolt, the *Observer* casually and placidly remarks :

> The fact that Italian aeroplanes have passed over French-African territory on their way to join the rebels in Morocco shows the strong interest the Italians have in a rebel victory. (*Observer*, August 2, 1936.)

" Shows the strong interest." That is all. It would only be necessary to imagine the converse, if arms and aeroplanes were to be poured from the Soviet Union in support of an illegal revolt against a democratically elected Government in Europe, to conceive the thunders that would pour from the British press and demands for immediate action. There could be no clearer

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demonstration that legality has no existence for the bourgeoisie save as a weapon in the class struggle, to be used or discarded according to the interests of the struggle ; the class struggle governs all.

TWO fronts are facing one another on an international plane in this Spanish struggle. On the one side, the Fascist powers act openly, lawlessly, without hesitation, confident that they will be covered by their backers in the other Powers. On the other side, the popular forces are still strangled by the lack of the People's Front in Britain ; and in consequence the British National Government is able to act as in practice the covert ally of Fascism, and to prevent the lawful supplies from the democratic countries to the Spanish People's Government. The view of British official quarters was described as follows by the Diplomatic Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian :*

> They fear that arms supplied to the Spanish Government might fall into " extremist " hands, and by them it is considered desirable that there shall be as few arms as possible in Spain. (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, July 31, 1936.)

It is this British line that has driven the French People's Front Government to the desperate expedient of endeavouring at any rate to secure a similar embargo on supplies from the Fascist Powers. The same journal makes clear that this line was from the outset pressed on the French Government by the British Government :

> " When the Spanish war broke out, the French Government was sharply split, not knowing whether or not to let the Spanish Government have its full legal rights ; *the British Government urged " non-intervention " on it.* (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, August 21, 1936.)

IT is thus evident that the key to the whole situation, both to the issue of the struggle in Spain, as to the whole international situation, lies in Britain. May the delegates to the Trades Union Congress this month, and of the Labour Party Conference next month, bear in mind this situation, not only for the future in Britain, but for the whole international situation and the heavy consequences that hang on their decisions—the alternatives of a Fascist Europe or popular-democratic advance—

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when they make their decisions on the vital question of unity. We must support the Spanish struggle by every means in our power. This is agreed by all. We must send all the material support we are able. This is agreed by all. But the greatest support of all we can give is the establishment of working class unity and the People's Front in Britain.

R. P. D.

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SPAIN FIGHTS FOR DEMOCRACY

"By U.H.P."

THE Spanish General Election of February, 1936, marked the recognition by the Spanish people that the "old gang," which had governed the country through a coalition of the Right parties since 1933, had abjectly and miserably failed. Spain has shown a lesser measure of recovery from the world economic crisis than any other country in Europe, and its industrial output last year was still lower than in 1932. The twenty odd thousand landowners who own two-thirds of the land, both directly and through that great rack-renting, sweating, tenant-driving and moneylending corporation—the Church—could think of no better way to solve their problems, during their tenure of office, than to drive the five million poor peasants and landless labourers still deeper into stark misery. The infant deathrate among the Spanish peasants has attained what might be termed Indian dimensions—447 per 1,000 in Granada, 456 in Caceres, 405 in Albacete.

Reactionary control in the years 1933-1936 was marked by the wholesale wiping out of collective agreements, as a result of which industrial wages fell from an average of 10 or 12 pesetas daily to an average of 4 or 5, and agricultural wages from an average of 8 or 9 pesetas to the same level (in many districts of Estremadura and Andalusia, even lower, many villages being reduced to a diet of boiled leaves). At the end of 1934, tens of thousands of peasants who could not prove a title to their land before 1931 (*i.e.*, under the Monarchy) were driven off it. In 1935, the so-called "grain law" bankrupted thousands more of the smaller peasants. There were 20,000 evictions in the province of Guipuzcoa alone.

These measures were backed by others of a "non-economic" character. The Government set the example by jailing hundreds of active trade unionists and poor farmers in 1933, and tens of thousands after the anti-Fascist rising of October, 1934. The savageries of the Foreign Legion during that rising, when neither the women nor the children of the Asturian miners were spared torture and death in their most horrible forms, were followed by scores of drumhead trials and "legal" executions. Parallel with these went punitive expeditions against the peasantry, driven to desperation by famine and oppression. The result was that the whole ruling class and their hangers-on became infected with the appetite for blood. A ready weapon was the multiplicity of Fascist organisations, grouped around the "Popular Action" and the "Phalanx,"

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which found a benevolent protector in the Government and a source of strength and arms in the huge caste of reactionary officers (numbering 11,000 in a total army of 105,000—as against, for example, 28,000 officers in the whole French Army of 545,000). 1935, in particular, was a year of continual assassinations of trade union officials, peasants' organisers, active Republicans: murder became the sport of the rich and the occupation of their parasites.

But 1935 also was a year of reorganisation and rejuvenation for the forces of the working class and of democracy. On a background of almost continuous strikes and courageous resistance by the peasantry, the fight for the united anti-Fascist front made steady progress, both in the trade unions and on the political field. Although the leaders of the Socialist Party resisted the movement in the first stages, the Communists succeeded in establishing "contact committees" between the district committees of the various organisations. The movement received a tremendous impetus after the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, which called the anti-Fascist forces of the world to form People's Fronts against Fascism. In a series of gigantic demonstrations held in the second half of 1935, attaining 400,000 participants in Madrid, the People's Front was born. The central point of its platform was that for which the Communists had been fighting—the dissolution of Parliament and a democratic General Election. Under the pressure of this mass demand, President Zamora was forced—for fear lest worse befall—first to dismiss the open Fascists from the Government, substituting a moderate Conservative administration, and then to dissolve Parliament. A potent factor in persuading him was the rebirth of the movement for national freedom in the regions of the national minorities—particularly in Catalonia, where the autonomous Constitution had been swept away after the defeat of the anti-Fascist rising of October, 1934.

There were serious internal difficulties to overcome in the formation of the People's Front. One was the resistance of the Socialist Party leaders already mentioned, which transformed itself as time went on into a struggle between right and left wings in the Party, and consequent hesitation in co-operating with the Communist Party. Another was the fear of "extremism" on the part of the left Republican leaders—representing chiefly the town middle classes, professional workers, etc.—which led, on the eve of the elections, to their rejecting the Communist proposal to include in the People's Front platform the demand for the confiscation of the landowners' estates and their division among the labourers and poor peasantry (who represent, at a moderate computation, 65 per cent. of the Spanish people). Yet a third difficulty was the slow and unwilling advance of the Anarchist leaders towards a united front of Anarchist and "Marxist" workers, let alone a People's Front, notwithstanding the splendid co-operation that had prevailed in many districts during the

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rising of October, 1934. On the very eve of the General Election, the Anarchist leaders issued a call to abstain from voting.

In spite of this call, 80 per cent. of the electorate voted, as compared with 61 per cent. who voted in 1933. The People's Front increased the representation of the parties it comprised—from Republicans to Communists—from 121 in the old Parliament to 268 in the new. The Right parties, who had 352 in the old Parliament, had only 205 in the new. A Republican government was formed headed by Azana, who soon afterwards replaced Zamora—a landowner closely in touch with the Right—as President of the Republic. There were two outstanding features of the election among many. One was the immense preponderance of the People's Front in Catalonia—47 to 11. The other was that the main peasant provinces (the penalty of Republican weakness) were still with the Right. The list of provinces which returned a Right majority has acquired a sinister significance in the light of the division of territory in the Civil War begun on July 17, 1936. Here it is: Valladolid, Salamanca, Burgos, Logrono, Segovia, Soria, Avila, Guadalajara, Cuenca, Cuidad Real, Toledo, Zamora, Leon, Santander.

The establishment of this Republican Government, with the support of the People's Front, based for the first time in Spain on a bloc between workers, town middle class and a large section of the peasantry, brought the fight for democracy in Spain on to a higher plane altogether. The list of measures carried out by the Government in five months—from the General Election of February 16 to the rising of July 17—is no inconsiderable one. It includes (i) re-employment of those dismissed for political reasons after October, 1934, with compensation amounting to from 3 to 6 months' wages; (ii) the release of something like 30,000 political prisoners; (iii) the restoration of Catalan autonomy, and preparations for autonomy of the Basque country; (iv) restoration of municipal councils dissolved by the reactionary Government; (v) the establishment of 87,000 peasants on the land (chiefly, it must be recognised, by legalising seizures of estates by the peasantry); (vi) the reviewing of cases of eviction of peasants for non-payment of rent, and the forcing of large landowners to give employment to the unemployed peasants of their district; (vii) the restoration of social services abolished or restricted by the reactionaries; (viii) the partial dissolution and disarmament of the more notorious Fascist leagues; (ix) a beginning of the cleansing of the Army and Police of anti-Republican officials.

It was a regular offensive against the entrenched forces of reaction, but never once going beyond the bounds of what capitalist democracies, clearing their country of feudalism, have done elsewhere. Where the Government hesitated to carry out its own programme, the workers themselves took action. Thus, although the Agrarian Reform of September, 1932, permitted the expropriation of the great landowning nobility

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without compensation, the Government took no action : and it was only when 60,000 peasants in western Spain took concerted action overnight, occupying estates, dividing them among themselves and beginning to work them, that the slow-moving " Agrarian Reform Institute " came in to sanction their action. Again, the multitude of strikes which filled this period—notably that of 120,000 land workers in Malaga, 80,000 building workers at Madrid, shipbuilding workers in all ports, etc.—were due to the passivity of the Government in face of calculated refusal by the employers to sign agreements, or to carry them out when signed. Only when the workers were goaded into extra-legal action which threatened property rights themselves—as in the case of the seizure of the Mieres metal works in May, or the seizure of the Madrid tramways—did the State intervene to secure a compromise by threatening nationalisation.

In spite of these shortcomings, the Government was popular, and the class of landowners and big capitalists, which had lost direct control of Government machinery in consequence of the elections, felt that ordinary methods were insufficient for the struggle. It resorted to the method of economic sabotage (" the bony hand of hunger," as its Russian predecessors called it, under somewhat similar circumstances, in the summer of 1917). The flight of capital from Spain : well-organised runs on the banks : artificially stimulated depreciation of the peseta : the threat of a general industrial lockout, if the compensation to workers dismissed after 1934 were enforced : the threat of a " land lockout " in the autumn, *i.e.*, refusal by the landowners to permit sowing on their estates—these were the principal methods employed. However, these methods inevitably forced into the foreground the question of their right to their property itself. The threat of an industrial lockout was only defeated, for example, by a counter-threat by the Government to take over the main industries itself. The landlords and capitalists turned to the weapon which they had already employed under the previous government—assassination—raising it, however, to an unheard-of degree of organisation. Money was poured into the coffers of the Fascist leagues : arms were smuggled into the country, while others were supplied from Government arsenals by Monarchist officers : churches and monasteries were turned into storehouses for arms and meeting places for conspirators : and the youth of the possessing classes, of both sexes, made it a point of honour to join. Nearly every day some workers' leader was shot at, and many were murdered. At Yeste a brutal attack on unarmed peasants by Civil Guards was developed into a 24-hour massacre of the villagers by local Fascists. The position was complicated, and the Fascists assisted, by the activities of certain declassed gunmen who had made their nest in the Anarcho-Syndicalist ranks, carrying their obsession with the weapon of individual terror to the point of murdering their own fellow-workers.

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However, the Communist Party maintained a cool head and a clear perspective in spite of every provocation. It steadily and resolutely went on working for its declared objective—the fulfilment of the democratic bourgeois revolution to clear away the economic, political and cultural weeds of feudalism, which have been choking Spain for three centuries. The policy was well summed up by Hernandes, in the *Communist International* of June 25, 1936: "Two forces are battling in Spain: the forces of Fascism and the forces of the anti-Fascist People's Front—revolution and counter-revolution. The outcome of that battle is still undecided. At present we hold much more favourable positions than the enemies of the people. We can conquer. The Party is growing rapidly. But the Party leadership does not forget that the successes won have not yet been consolidated. We are not putting forward to-day, as the immediate objective, to pass from the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution to a socialist revolution for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We are aiming at the completion and fulfilment of a democratic revolution, which is the main concern for the Spanish people at the present moment. The weapons of victory are in our hands. The Communist Party of Spain sets before itself, as its basic and immediate aims of to-day, to secure the complete victory of the democratic and revolutionary forces over Fascism and counter-revolution, and by giving effect to measures of an economic and political character—in the direction of completing the democratic revolution—to isolate the Fascists from those masses of peasantry and town lower middle class on which they have been hitherto relying; to disorganise the forces of Fascism: to undermine the material basis of counter-revolution and strengthen the positions held by the proletariat and its allies."

This policy, during the five months before the counter-revolutionary rising of July 17, won successes of steadily increasing importance: above all in the sphere of promoting the unity of the working class—the rock upon which alone a People's Front can be firmly founded, since only the working class has the necessary mass, cohesion, traditions and organising capacity to lead the other elements of society successfully against Fascist reaction. One important step was the agreement of the Red trade unions to merge into the larger General Union of Workers (U.G.T.) which created a united T.U.C. of over 1 million members in April, and 1½ millions by July. A second step was the fusion of the Communist and Socialist Youth organisations. The one had grown from 14,000 in February to 50,000 in April: the other from 24,000 to 65,000. But less than a month after their fusion, the united body numbered 140,000 members! A third step was the fight for unity with the Anarchist workers—by inducing their local bodies to join the "Workers' Alliances" (resembling the British "Councils of Action" which stopped intervention

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against Soviet Russia in 1920 and, in many districts, conducted the General Strike of 1926) and, nationally, by campaigning for a united front of the U.G.T. and the C.N.T. (the Anarcho-Syndicalist " National Confederation of Labour "). At its Congress in May, the C.N.T. agreed for the first time to the principle of an alliance with the U.G.T. A fourth important aspect was the struggle within the Socialist Party for fusion with the Communist Party on the basis of a revolutionary programme. Caballero, the leader of the U.G.T., was the champion of the Left Wing in this fight: the Madrid organisations—the largest in the Party—decided to move a resolution for unity at the Party Congress in July: and the Party Executive, with a large Right and Centre majority, recognised the strength of the movement by postponing the Congress from July to October.

The Communist Party found recognition of the part it was playing as champion, organiser and spearhead of the People's Front—fulfilling the trust committed to it by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International on the historic motion of Dimitrov—in the rapid increase of its membership. In February, the Communist Party of Spain numbered 20,000 members: at the end of March, 50,000: at the end of April, 80,000: at the end of June, 102,000—nearly double the Socialist Party (57,000).

These were the conditions prevailing when the Fascist and Monarchist clique began their insurrection by the revolt of the Spanish Army in Morocco, on July 17, 1936, and thereby carried the struggle for democracy in Spain on to the highest and most decisive plane of all—civil war.

At the time of writing, one month after the Civil War began, the situation remains fundamentally unchanged, despite fierce fighting on a number of fronts (Navarre-St. Sebastian in the extreme north, the Guadarrama mountain range north of Madrid, the Badajoz district along the Portuguese frontier, south-west of Madrid, and the region north of Gibraltar). In nearly all cases, so far, the military initiative has come from the rebel side, which is natural when their superiority in trained men and in modern equipment is borne in mind: but in almost every case their attacks have been broken. In particular, the flood of armed workers which stopped and drove back the attack on Madrid from the Guadarrama deserves to be recorded by the side of the Petrograd workers' victory on the heights of Pulkovo, in November, 1917 (described by John Reed in *Ten Days That Shook the World.*) The steady driving in of the rebel forces around Saragossa—centre of all the Spanish military academies, of an entire division and of a tank brigade—is a wonderful achievement of the Catalonian workers. Only in the far south-west, with the capture of Badajoz from a militia armed for the most part with shotguns and

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obsolete rifles, can the rebels record any serious success. The fact that the greater part of the fleet took the side of the Republic, shooting or imprisoning its rebel officers, has been a serious blow for the Fascists, who had hoped to be able very rapidly to transfer to the Peninsula Spain's most formidable fighting machine—the Foreign Legion—and found their way barred almost completely by loyal warships.

This situation is the more encouraging for the forces of Spanish democracy since time is on its side. The bulk of the Spanish people are for democracy and against Fascism, and in face of the fascist revolt ask only for arms and training. The Republican Government from the very outset boldly armed the workers and established close contact with their central military organisation—the Central Committee of the Workers' Militia. It is unnecessary here to repeat the remarkable story of the enthusiasm and devotion with which the workers and great numbers of the peasantry have responded to the call: it has been vividly told by scores of even Tory journalists. Such incidents as the enrolment of 5,000 women of Madrid to cook for the forces and tend the wounded (*Havas* Agency, July 22): the "shock work" of the munition workers of Madrid, who have increased the output of cartridges from 300,000 daily to 800,000 (*Havas*, August 3) and of Barcelona, where by working 12 to 14 hours daily the aviation workers have been turning out two new or reconditioned seaplanes every 24 hours (special correspondent of *Le Populaire*, August 6): or the extreme anxiety of the Anarchist workers, who requisitioned a millionaire's house at Barcelona, to preserve his priceless gallery of Old Masters for the people (*Havas* Agency, August 13): are no less significant than the fact that the bulk of the armed forces which are holding the Fascist brigands at bay, with a fighting spirit which astonishes even hostile observers, were working at the bench or on the land not two months ago.

An important factor in building up the solid People's Front in arms has been the spectacle of the Republican Government's readiness to depart from its own abstract principles in order to cope energetically with the situation created by the rebellion. This readiness has been shown by such measures as the decision to requisition important public services and war industries: the confiscation of factories and estates abandoned by their owners, or belonging to persons implicated in the rebellion: the handing over of reactionary newspapers, and of the palaces of rebel leaders, to the workers' organisations: the restoration to the poor of articles pledged in the municipal pawnshops: the declaration, first of a moratorium on rents (July 27), and then of a 50 per cent. cut in the lowest rents, with a 25 per cent. cut for the next highest (August 4): the immediate introduction of a 40-hour week, with a 15 per cent. rise in wages, by the Catalonian Government. All these measures could find their counterpart in emergency steps taken during the Great War, and

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do not in themselves represent a departure from the plane of capitalist private property. But they differ from the measures taken in 1914-15 precisely in that they have been taken in the interests of a working people in arms against a Fascist revolt. And the Spanish workers and peasants have understood the difference.

The savagery and bestiality of the Fascist army knows no bounds. It has well maintained the bourgeois traditions of pitiless massacre of workers who dare to defend themselves. There are military executions every night, between 3 and 5 a.m., at Melilla, writes the correspondent of the *Petit Parisien*: "Every morning I see 200 new mourners and four or five fresh coffins." "I intend at any price to liberate Spain from Marxism: at any price," reiterated Franco to Reuter's correspondent, when the latter asked him whether he was prepared to shoot half Spain (July 29).

One month of such warfare has been sufficient to clear up any ambiguity as to the aims of the monstrous clique of bankers, landowners and militarists behind the rebellion. At first, they proclaimed in the words of their all-too-officious mouthpiece, the *Daily Telegraph*, that they "are in revolt, not against Republican institutions, but against their gross perversion" (July 28). When the attention of the rebel leader Franco was drawn by an American correspondent to the fact that the Carlist army of Navarre was carrying banners with the former Royal colours, emblazoned with images of the Virgin or of the Saints, his reply was the southerners stood for the Republican flag, and that these questions would be settled "after the victory" (*New York Herald-Tribune*, August 10). On the same day, the Portuguese press published a statement by Franco that "Spain is republican and will continue to be. Neither the régime nor the flag will be changed." He went on, however, to explain that their aim was to set up a "corporative system," similar to that prevailing in Portugal, Italy and Germany: to maintain a military dictatorship "during the period of forming the personnel of administration": and to disarm civilians and induce them to "renounce politics." In other words, a Fascist régime pure and simple, which above all would deprive the people of any means of combating the rule of the landowners and capitalists.*

After this, it must have been quite easy for Franco to reconcile his previous declarations about the Republican tricolour with his presence, on August 13, at a solemn fête to the old Monarchist bi-colour (red and gold), proclaimed by Radio-Seville to be "the true symbol of the Fatherland." Fascism, absolute monarchy, military dictatorship, control

* Since then, Prieto, the moderate Socialist leader, has published in the Spanish press a document found by the authorities which outlines the rebel plans in still greater detail, but in the same general direction.

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of the people's conscience by the blackest, most corrupt, most obscurantist priesthood in the world—that is what the rebels (and their foreign champions) bring to the Spanish people.

No wonder that the struggle has brought up to a higher plane, too, the movement for a united front of the Spanish working class. The co-operation of Socialists, Communists and Anarchists in the organisation of the workers' militia and on the battle fronts has been far more complete and wholehearted than it was during the October, 1934 rising, most particularly because the C.N.T., for the first time in its history, has been actively co-operating with the Government. In Catalonia the united front has advanced most. Four workers' parties, including the Socialists and the Communists, have fused to form the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, based on the programme of the Communist International, to which the new party has applied for affiliation. The United Socialist Party, in turn, has suceeded in inducing the U.G.T., the C.N.T., and the Iberian Anarchist Federation to set up a Co-ordinating Committee for Catalonia. One has to recall the refusal of the Anarchists to co-operate with any other parties, and their traditional hostility to any government, for three-quarters of a century, to realise what an immense step forward this has meant for the Spanish working class.

All is not plain sailing, however. The Socialist secretary of the Barcelona Dockers' Union was murdered on the quayside, in the early days of the Civil War, in circumstances which led the mass of the workers, at any rate, to believe that those responsible were hooligan elements in the Anarchist ranks. When the Catalonian Government was reconstructed on a wider basis, the C.N.T. not only refused to join but virtually forced the resignation of the three Socialists whom their party delegated to take office, by threatening an open split. In Madrid the Anarchist paper seized on the version of a speech by a leading Communist, garbled by a reactionary French paper, to launch a number of violent attacks on the Communist Party. But the latter has not replied in polemical vein, or allowed any secondary issue to become the cause of a split in the workers' front which would play into the hands of the Fascists. The Communists hold to the aim set out in the article of Hernandes quoted earlier, and restated in a declaration issued to the world on August 3, through the medium of the French Communist Party. In this declaration they say plainly that they are not aiming at establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in the present struggle : their aim is " the defence of republican order in conditions of respect for private property."

That defence would be assured, in spite of all the difficulties facing the Republic, but for the intervention in the Spanish struggle of the Fascist Powers of Germany and Italy, supported by the pro-fascist forces in Britain and other countries.

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THE FIRST SIX DAYS

By AN EYE WITNESS

[*In view of its documentary value, the* LABOUR MONTHLY *has obtained permission to publish the following extracts from the diary of a London doctor who chanced to have begun his holiday near San Sebastian on the eve of the pro-Fascist rebellion. They record his impressions of the first few days of the struggle.*]

THURSDAY, JULY 16.

Arrive San Sebastian. A warm evening. Chief streets filled with laughing, idling crowds. Spaces in front of cafés fully occupied.

FRIDAY, JULY 17.

On to coastal village of Orio, 20 kilometres west of San Sebastian. Mainly working-class population. Occupations fishing and employment in a few small river-side factories. Decaying posters from the last Parliamentary elections. One has " Moscow or Rome ? " Another shows Russian lumber workers being thrashed by an evil-looking slave-driver, while contented Spanish peasants joyously acclaim the prospects of a Right-Wing Government. A third shows the serpent of Bolshevism crushing the maiden of Spain. On the other hand, the Frente Popular posters are more intelligent. (Actual local political hue is mainly Basque Nationalism, i.e., Separatism). Existence of political tension not apparent to a new-comer. Workers on the streets and in cafés in the evening, as in any country village. Private cars in abundance pass through on the main road.

SUNDAY, JULY 19. ORIO.

San Sebastian newspapers fail to arrive. Local train service cut off. News by road of armed Fascist rising in San Sebastian early this morning against Republican Government. A number of people were killed. Republican newspaper from Bilbao and Government radio state that situation is well in hand. Rumour (confirmed next day) of capture, by Military garrison and local Fascist groups acting in concert, of Pamplona, a base that might be used for an attack on San Sebastian.

Evening. Fewer private cars on road. Village workers stand about in groups discussing the situation. Government-commandeered cars and lorries, filled with young workers armed with pistols, rifles, sporting guns and machine guns, dash through village.

Government Radio. The Spanish Government is arming all loyal people—Socialists, Communists and others sympathetic to the legitimate Republican Government, or to democracy—who are willing to volunteer to defend the Republic against the Fascist-Military dictatorship that is being attempted throughout the country. *Viva la Republica !*

Later News. Arms, ancient and modern, are being supplied to volunteers by the Government, from arsenals, stores, factories and shops.

Later News. The Basque Nationalists (Catholics) are with the Government ! Will part of the Army remain loyal ? Since the officers are mainly responsible

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for the rising, will their men follow them blindly ? Which way will the Civil Guard and Shock Police jump ? At present they are, in San Sebastian at any rate, fraternising with the workers. But in Pamplona they have apparently joined the rebels.

(It is clear that the brunt of the active armed defence is going to fall on volunteers from the civilian working-class).

MONDAY, JULY 20. ORIO.

Government radio and Bilbao pro-Government newspapers proclaim a state of alarm throughout Spain ; order a General Strike of industry and transport so that the workers' volunteer Militia may be mobilised and armed ; and call upon the people to fight to the death in defence of the Republic. In Orio the shops are still open but factories closed. Workers on the streets all day. The only cars on the road are armed patrols, which pass through at high speed.

Afternoon. Visit Zaraus, small fashionable resort, 5 km. west of Orio. All shops closed and shuttered. Civil Guards, accompanied by workers, are searching houses for unauthorised arms. Crowds in the streets and market place. Here a student points out to me a group of Fascists in conversation. When they move off, a menacing crowd of workers follows at a distance. " This morning a Fascist Group began a revolver fight with workers in the street, and several people were severely wounded." The student talks with a workers' leader, appointed to help direct the local defence. Turning to me, " His throat will be cut if the rebels win."

TUESDAY, JULY 21. ORIO AND SAN SEBASTIAN.

Workers on the village street, several of them, with rifles and red arm-bands, guarding the bridge. Local train service having temporarily restarted, I go to make inquiries at British Consulate, San Sebastian. Am searched for arms by volunteers on guard as I leave station. Town completely shuttered. Streets deserted except for police and workers, many of whom carry pistols and guns and wear red arm-bands. Only vehicles seen are patrol cars carrying armed workers' Militia ; these carry red flags or are marked Frente Popular. The absence of confusion is remarkable. In the working-class district near the entry of the road from Pamplona the streets are closed by barricades of stone and carts. From the neighbouring windows come sounds of radio dance tunes. Notices on the General Post Office and elsewhere give list of military leaders officially deposed from their commands on account of rebel activities ; state that soldiers who wish to remain loyal to the Government are permitted to disobey their officers ; and call upon the people to defend the republic, volunteers being, however, reminded that their arms must be regarded as official property. In the main street the cafés are closed and tables piled high close to the shuttered windows.

British Vice-Consul advises me to get out while I can and leave my luggage at Orio. But decide to risk it and fetch baggage. As I walk to station a rebel military monoplane swoops low over the town, dropping leaflets. This produces a deafening crash of gun-fire from houses and from armed workers and police all up and down the streets. Take cover in a doorway. Leaflets state that San Sebastian will be bombarded tomorrow unless the Civil Guard and Police come over to the rebel troops, who are now outside the town.

Remarks heard in the town. The wife of a Spanish ex-officer : " I have lived through all the troubles in Spain, but there has been nothing like this, with the town prepared for guerilla warfare between workmen and troops. There is

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none of the glory of fighting for one's country in a civil war. It is terrible ; I hear that the Civil Guard have shown the red flag ; I thought they would be on our side." An armed Communist, wearing the blue shirt of an anti-Fascist organisation : " We workers are fighting for our lives and liberties and for the people. The Army and Fascists are attacking the people. We must do something about it. It is quite simple." Another armed worker : " There are comparatively few Communists in this region, the workers being mainly Basque Nationalists ; but we are united in this struggle of the Republican Government against Fascism and Military Dictatorship."

Train to Orio, pack at my hotel, return to San Sebastian in what is probably last train. At Consulate (4 p.m.) am told no one can leave San Sebastian, which expects attack to-morrow. All external telephone, telegraph and rail communications are discontinued. Ten minutes later comes official order on radio : " No unauthorised person to leave his house or show himself at a window ; anyone who does will be regarded as an enemy and will be liable to be shot at sight." Then a call for all doctors. Consulate shutters are down, British flag is hoisted. There is now almost complete silence in this part of the town, except for the sound of patrol cars, and moving groups of armed volunteers. The latter stand at street intersections, wearing red arm-bands.

Accommodation is arranged for me in a Pension on the opposite side of the main street. I try to cross the street with a suit case, but am ordered back. Remain in Consulate till dark, and then manage to get across to the Pension. Apartment on the 6th floor. We are eight Spaniards, including two young children, an Italian, another foreigner and myself, all middle-class, and two servants. Shutters are down. Through them we can see a group of Civil Guards, with a Frente Popular man, on the roof of the General Post Office. We play endless games of *vingt et un* until ten. Then supper and bed.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22. SAN SEBASTIAN.

Battle begins at dawn with shell fire from rebel troops outside town. Then hell breaks loose with volleys of rifle, pistol and machine-gun fire, up and down the streets. Thuds of bullets on the walls. Government Radio announces that Rebel Troops are invading town, aided by local Fascist snipers in houses and on the roofs but that Frente Popular volunteers are replying from streets and houses and are opposing the entry with barricades. A machine-gun battle takes place on the bridge at the end of our street. The rebels win. Civilians can be seen walking with white handkerchiefs, but soon the red arm-bands reappear, so that the rebel gain must have been only local.

Later. Radio announcement that many Frente Popular Volunteers have gone over to the Rebels.

Later. Radio announcement that previous message was from a Fascist pirate station, now captured by Frente Popular Militia.

Firing continues throughout the day, mostly from hidden sources. Through the shutters :—The few unshuttered windows opposite have bullet holes in them. Armed workers at corners or moving in groups. Patrol cars and ambulance cars—the latter municipal or improvised by workers—dash through at intervals, keeping up contact. As they pass one another, the volunteers shout the pass cry, " U.H.P." (Union of Proletarian Brothers) or just " Obrero," and sometimes " Viva la Republica." The clenched fist salute is frequently exchanged. Considering their lack of experience in warfare, the discipline of these workers is remarkably good.

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Most of the Pensionnaires seem to favour the rebels, but are superficially neutral while the Frente Popular is in control. But " If only we could hear a military band—that would mean the troops had won " ; " Spain needs law and order " ; " With the Monarchy we had no trouble like this " ; and so on.

Night. Waves of firing up and down the streets. Sounds of patrol cars and marching foot patrols. Always the wailing bird-like cry " Oo archee pay " (U.H.P.). Clearly the loyalists still control at least this part of the town. Near morning, the pass-cry is changed for the next 24 hours to " U.G.T." (Federation of Trade Unions).

THURSDAY, JULY 23. SAN SEBASTIAN.

At dawn, shell fire from the Loyola barracks on the hill overlooking the town. Then firing dies down and many housewives venture out to market. Our signora goes out, protected by a " Red " with a pistol, and secures bread and meat. In a few hours rifle fire re-commences in earnest ; non-combatant population again caged up.

Government Radio. The Rebel troops control the Loyola barracks, the workhouse, and various points inside the town, their headquarters being the great luxury hotel, the Maria Christina, which contains many guests. The Frente Popular, however, are in general control, and hope to evict the rebels and the various Fascist snipers in the town. Many soldiers have disobeyed their officers, made them prisoners and joined the people. 150 reported dead on the Frente Popular side ; number of wounded unknown.

Foreign Radio. Reports that rebels are achieving success in all towns in Spain. (This is certainly not true of San Sebastian).

Later. Government biplane overhead. Shots are fired at it. Sounds of bombs and mortars. Much firing from roof tops.

Phone Call. Hotel Maria Christina is still in hands of rebel troops and rebel members of the Civil Guard.

Radio. Hotel Maria Christina has been recaptured by loyal volunteers.

Phone Call. Hotel Maria Christina has been recaptured by the Frente Popular after threat to blow it up.

After hearing the same version twice running, we believe that it *has* been recaptured. (Later proved true). Since the Hotel is town property there was good reason not to blow it up.

Phone Call by our Italian. A dum-dum bullet found in the Italian Consulate (!).

Night. Fewer bursts of fire. We can hear the workers on our roof saying how difficult it is to be sure who is friend and who is enemy, or to know where the firing is coming from. In the streets the order is given that the pass-cry for the next day is to be " U.G.T." answered by " triomfo." Discipline and morale of the volunteers still seems very good.

FRIDAY, JULY 24. SAN SEBASTIAN.

Shell fire as usual from the rebels in the Loyola barracks to wake us up. Gunfire inside town seems decidely less than it has been. Marketing takes place as on yesterday morning, but there are more people in the streets.

Government Radio. Shutters to be raised in order to see if any enemy snipers still active. The Frente Popular is in control of the town except for the Loyola barracks.

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Phone Call. British Destroyer "Verity" in harbour. Foreigners told to be in readiness to be taken off by it and French Destroyer. Through the window:—Groups of soldiers who have come over to the Frente Popular are gesticulating to the workers on our roof. "Don't shoot us—we are your comrades." A patrol car passes carrying two armed Shock Police, wearing red arm-bands and waving frantically, on the foot-boards. A force composed of volunteers and loyal Civil Guards marches past. They are going to attempt to take the Loyola barracks. A crowd on the pavement claps enthusiastically as they pass, and the clenched fist salute is exchanged.

10 *a.m. Phone Call.* Told to go to British Consulate across the street. Passes are made out, and eventually we march in a "crocodile" to the port. Firing has subsided, rebels temporarily defeated.

I notice that the small unshuttered show cases of the smart shops that we pass have not been tampered with. Our procession is escorted by worker-volunteers, armed with pistols, rifles and steel helmets. Some wear anti-Fascist organisation's blue shirt. A lorry, with red flags, follows with our baggage, which the workers unload on to the quay. Their discipline seems as good as throughout, and they smilingly refuse payment or gifts of cigarettes. One of them says that while the defence of San Sebastian has been successful, the future is very uncertain and the volunteers of the Frente Popular must remain watchful.

Remarks heard on the quay. An Englishwoman: "These Reds, they look so dreadful, but they were charming to our children as they brought us to the Consulate." An Englishman holding an important position in Spain: "Spain needs a dictatorship. The rebels are brave men fighting against such odds." An attaché: "I had to swim half a mile out to the French destroyer, with a message in a sponge-bag in the seat of my bathing suit asking for a British war-ship to be sent, and the fellows never even offered me a drink."

Remarks heard on the British Destroyer. A sailor: "These armed workers were very friendly to us." A Senior Petty-Officer: "The shells those fellows were using might have been quite nasty if they had hit you." An English girl: "Opposite where we were quartered in a working-class street was a church from which the workers were being continually fired upon. When the Frente Popular volunteers bombed it, the priest and sacristan ran out. The sacristan threw himself over a wall and killed himself. The priest was caught. He was wearing woman's clothes. Inside the church were found arms and a large quantity of ammunition."

English newspapers seen on the destroyer: "San Sebastian in flames." "San Sebastian captured by General Mola."

In the evening we are disembarked in the pouring rain at St. Jean de Luz.

SUNDAY, JULY 26. BAYONNE.

Front Populaire demonstration of 7,000 persons. A speaker: "Our sympathy goes out to our comrades in Spain in their heroic resistance against Fascism. If a similar attack on Democracy should threaten in France, we are united and strong and will be able to deal with it."

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THE WORLD CONGRESS FOR PEACE AT BRUSSELS

By NORMAN ANGELL

[*On September 3rd-6th will be held at Brussels the World Peace Congress organised by the International Peace Campaign. The following article by Sir Norman Angell deals with some of the issues which will be voiced at this Congress.*]

THE entrance of Russia into the League of Nations and her foreign policy since that event—especially in respect of the arrangement with France—enforces several lessons important for Socialists as for others.

The first perhaps is this : Those who believe that our economic system must be fundamentally changed must also recognise that the economic problem cannot be solved without solving also certain political problems. The political side of widespread reorganisation will not just settle itself. The economic side may be as vital, as indispensable, as fundamental as you will. However true that may be, it is also true that certain political conditions may make socialism (as much else) impossible of achievement.

Chaos may make it impossible of achievement. Heretofore it has been a tenet with many Socialists that anarchy and chaos, the breakdown of existing systems must be to the advantage of Socialism. Events show that there is no " must " about it. As things are it is much more likely to be to the advantage of some system of Fascism. It is surely significant that nowhere outside Russia, that is to say, in no country where Capitalism has been highly developed, has Socialism emerged from the post-war chaos ; Fascism has emerged.

Before the war we used to talk of " the " revolution, regarding it as an axiom that any revolution must be from below and to the advantage of the workers. We did not conceive that the revolutions then waxing in the womb of time would be revolutions from the top, counter revolutions, undoing the work of the enlightenment, of the French Revolution ; burning up even the bourgeois rights which that revolution achieved.

The reason of course is not far to seek. Our mechanised society—and it will be a mechanised society whether it be Capitalist or Socialist—is a technician's society, with the technicians playing an ever larger and

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larger part in it. So long as they are on the wrong side of the barricades no revolution from below can succeed : a fight in which all or nearly all of those who know how to navigate a ship, repair its engines, fly an aeroplane, manufacture poison gas, operate a field piece or a machine gun, are on one side and mainly non-technicians on the other can only have one outcome : the defeat of the non-technicians. The Russian epic does not in the least invalidate this generalisation because pre-war Russia had not developed an immense class of bourgeois technicians ; she was neither highly mechanised nor highly industrialised and the middle class was, speaking broadly and relatively, non-existent.

Now, even with England, the technicians *are* on the wrong side of the barricade ; the professional classes as a whole are to the Right of the Labour Party, as witness the fact that that party has never been able to win a University constituency ; has been buried in such elections even if its banner has been carried by men of the eminence of H. G. Wells.

These are among the considerations which make peace indispensable to the development of Socialism. Russia, obviously, needs peace to go on with her internal task of construction. Though she would face war, it would divert her energies and resources from what is her real constructive work inside her own borders. To the end of maintaining peace she is prepared to co-operate with bourgeois or capitalist states like France who need peace for, it may be, political or nationalist reasons. After all, the Franco-Soviet Pact was concluded under a Laval government, proving that French fears of a Hitlerite Germany were stronger than the bourgeois dislike of Communism. But Britain is virtually allied with France ; and it is common ground that we could not see France defeated by Germany—that the former's defeat would be a menace to us. Even the British Isolationists agree that we must "defend France and the Low Countries." But if we are thus necessarily allies of France we are allies of Russia. Things which are allied to the same thing are allied to one another. Do we face the implications of that ?

Perhaps not, and our enemy in England is confusion, the English dislike of clear ideas and principles.

Yet certain things we do hold to. We shall defend ourselves ; the country is not within a thousand miles of accepting non-resistance. No organised political party, no party that hopes to come within even measurable distance of winning a baker's dozen of seats, will go to the country and say : "We are against any attempt to defend the country ; in favour of complete abolition of the Army and Navy. Britain and her sister democracies of the Commonwealth are ready to accept whatever more powerful foreign States may impose. Australia may become a Japanese colony and the Cape an Italian one, for all the opposition that we shall suggest."

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It would clarify our thinking enormously if those in all parties who have objected to the defensive commitments of the League could be compelled to state if defencelessness is their policy ; and if not, to state clearly what alternative policy of defence they *do* propose.

Whatever policy of defence we may devise, it cannot be that of armed isolationism. It is magnificent, of course, to be independent of the rest of the world, to tell all foreigners to go to the devil ; but it is not war, nor peace, nor defence. We had something like twenty allies in the last war, and seemed to need them.

Indeed it is common ground, with all the anti-League or anti-sanctionist forces, except perhaps Lord Beaverbrook (and even he seems at times disposed to make this one exception to his *Britannia contra mundum*) that if we allow France and Belgium to be overwhelmed, we might just as well not attempt to defend ourselves at all : the preponderance of power and advantage against us would be such that it would be a cruel and bootless waste of life, involving a useless and futile devastation of our country, the torture of its cities by mustard gas and the incendiary bomb, to resist any claims which a power that had thus conquered the Continent, might make upon us. So " our frontier is the Rhine," even for Mr. Baldwin.

But there are no frontiers beyond the Rhine, it would seem, that need concern us. When of someone who says, " Of course, we should have to fight for France if she were threatened with annihilation," you enquire why we should " have " to fight for France, you are told that a power which had extinguished France would dominate the Continent and so dominate us ; that had Germany won and made herself master of Europe and its resources, she would have so overtopped us, that our own defensive forces would hardly have had more meaning as a protection against her than would those of Norway or Denmark, or even of Monaco. But such a situation could be created to-day (as Herr Hitler and his military advisers are quite obviously well aware) without the military defeat of France. Or rather, from the moment that Germany secures a free hand in the East and has eliminated France's allies, the defence of France becomes as impossible as ours would have been in the event of Germany's victory : to dispose of France becomes almost a minor operation.

The most elementary tactics for a Power set upon dominating Europe would be to proceed by these stages : (1) To secure the neutrality of Britain in the event of war against Russia or Czechoslovakia so that France, deprived of support in the West, will fear to fulfil her alliance undertakings to Russia. (2) With the neutrality of both Britain and France thus assured, war by Germany and Japan in alliance against Russia becomes an undertaking of no very great risk ; victory therein would make Japan's suzerainty of China certain, her domination of Asia unquestioned ; would give to Germany her outlet in the Ukraine, recovery of the Corridor

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and of the " unredeemed " Germans whom, even now, she proclaims to be rightful subjects of the Reich ; would go a long way to building up that nation of two hundred and fifty million " Nordics " to which, the Rosenbergs proclaim, she is so obviously entitled. With that much achieved—Japan unquestionably dominant in Asia, Germany in Europe, Russia pushed back to the earlier Muscovite limits—it really would not much matter what a French nation of less than forty millions might vote for, or what Britain's views about her possessions in Africa or Asia might be. Decision would not rest with Britain or with France, and any attempt to exercise it would only involve an obviously futile slaughter.

We have hardly realised yet to what extent Germany won the last war ; how much, that is, her relative position has been strengthened and Britain's relatively weakened.

If our defence is to be along the lines of the balance of power, consider how our present situation differs from that of 1914, when we still had unquestioned command of the sea, when the sea was still the determining factor of world-wide struggle and Mahan's thesis was still largely valid. In 1914 we knew that from the very outset of the struggle our command of the sea would both cripple our enemy economically and enable us to secure the United States as an economic ally ; that the vast resources of America would be at our disposal, since under the law of neutrality, as she then read it, she was ready to sell to any belligerent who could (*a*) come and fetch the goods, and (*b*) pay for them. Our Navy enabled us to do the first, and our foreign investments and credit with America enabled us to do the second.

Both factors of strength and victory have disappeared. Our Navy is no longer supreme in the sense that it was, and our command of the sea will no longer achieve what it did as late as 1914. The aeroplane has rendered Mahan's thesis out of date ; ultimate decision has been transferred largely from the sea to the air, in which element Britain has few if any of the special advantages which enabled her for at least a century to be supreme at sea. And, as to the economic factor which so operated in 1914-18 as to keep the Allies supplied while throttling Germany, that has altered radically to the advantage of Germany, owing, first, to the nature of the peace which we made (not so much in the territorial as in the economic clauses) and, second, to our failure to recognise that only through the League could Britain secure for herself the advantages which the economic pressure of sea command gave her heretofore.

Recall for a moment what Britain's position was at the opening of the last war. The quantity of munitions which she began almost immediately to receive from the United States was so great that it transformed the whole industry of the eastern seaboard States. But there will be no such flood of munitions coming from America at the beginning of the next war.

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After the demise of the League, since all distinction between action on behalf of law and a quarrel between the litigants is swept away, we know that there will be an absolute embargo by the United States upon munitions to both belligerents. Plainly that will wipe out one great disadvantage under which Germany suffered. Further, the purchase of those mountains of materials, other than munitions, indispensable to the maintenance of war, which the Allies got and Germany did not, will no longer be possible save in very minor degree. The means by which the purchases were financed in the last war are no longer available. Even if American law did not forbid the loaning of money to States which have not yet repaid the money lent them for the prosecution of the last war, the fact of repudiation of previous war loans would make it financially impossible to raise great sums in the United States for war in Europe. And we have few foreign securities now to sell or pledge.

The neutrality position would have been different if Great Britain had determined last October to make the sanctions policy a reality. Something resembling the economic situation by which Britain benefited so tremendously through command of the sea would have been duplicated by the co-operation of forty or fifty States in economic embargo ; a new state of world law would have been created if Britain, seizing what one British Admiral declared the other day to be " a heaven-sent opportunity to make British sea law world law," had taken risks to make fifty States her allies in the defence of her position at sea, and, incidentally, her position on the road to India. As it is, she preferred to take the risk of sacrificing most of the advantages of sea power, and of allowing a new rival in the contest for Empire, intoxicated with easy success, to plant herself athwart that road. (And to be in a position now to throw across it land forces—native levies, the outcome of black conscription—which will tell against naval command of the Mediterranean, even if re-established.)

But that is hardly more than the beginning. What would have been the chances of the Western Allies in the last war if, firstly, they had been forbidden the economic resources of the United States ; secondly, if Germany had not had to face an enemy on her East and well as on her West ; thirdly, if Japan had been an enemy ; fourthly, if the U.S.A. had never entered the war at all ?

And that, of course, will be the position of Britain now if Germany and Japan choose to challenge the present territorial distribution, the present *status quo*.

A fashionable theory at present is that the line of safety is in allowing Germany to become the dominant power of Europe and making it plain that we do not mind so long as she expands or " explodes " on the East and not on the West. If it is a tenable theory, it is unfortunate that we did not all—France, Italy, the United States, Britain and the Dominions—discover

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it in 1914. And, indeed, the theory would have been much more tenable then than now. For the Germany of the Kaiser compared with the Germany of Hitler was a Liberal and tolerable state ; very much less an armed doctrine based on racial superiority and intolerance than the post-war Germany.

How a Mahan, bringing his principles up to date in consonance with the conquest of the air, would have laughed at the notion that the power of a great Central European Empire could be localised in that way ! If she is dominant on the Eastern periphery she is dominant on the West. Mahan had one explanatory phrase in dealing with sea power : " the Sea is One." Even still truer is it to say that " the Air is One." The gangster is learning that to divide those who oppose him is to defeat them. Unless we on our side can learn that the defence of right, like the defence of peace, is indivisible, we shall fail to make that defence effective, and we shall be utterly engulfed. In other words, we must create a diplomatic situation out of which the existing League of Nations may grow into a political reality.

The elements for such policy and such development exist ; Britain France, Belgium, Russia, Czechoslovakia, the Scandinavian and other of the lesser States, have all alike common fears and common interests. Even if the League did not exist, they would offer the basis of certain political and diplomatic co-operations of a defensive character, would, by the natural drift of political and diplomatic forces, tend to become allies.

But to prevent such an entente or alliance assuming the pre-war type, provoking a counter alliance on the other side, it should be made clear that membership is open to all who care to join and accept the controlling conditions, namely : that members agree to accept third party judgment in disputes between themselves and others ; that members fulfilling that condition, if attacked by another state not so fulfilling it, would be defended by the power of the whole group ; an attack on one would be an attack on all.

The obligations would, of course, take due regard to the " military situation and geographical position " of each member. The obligations of economic co-operation would apply to all ; military obligations to some, naval to others. It might well possess a " general staff " of the whole to co-ordinate armament programmes and methods of military contribution.

Positive peace-time economic advantage, as well as war-time economic obligation, might well attach to membership ; any purely economic advantage which now attaches to membership in the British Commonwealth might be extended to members of such a group. Membership would thus possess tangible economic as well as political and military value.

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Such an alliance would be neither provocative nor encircling, since any State that felt itself encircled, or threatened by its power could break the encirclement by joining the group.

In contradistinction to alliances of the older type it would not be asking for itself any right of security denied to others. It would be an alliance of States pledged between themselves to support the League principles as a primary interest of each seeking its own defence ; open to enlargement by accretion ; the creation within the League membership of a nucleus League which could grow into a real Society of Nations organised for common protection.

To make that policy feasible it must be understood by the multitudes. To organise that understanding should be the major task of the International Peace Compaign whose Congress is being held during the first days of September in Brussels.

If this Congress is a mere manifestation in favour of " peace," it will achieve little. It is not the will to peace which needs organising—that exists. It is knowledge of the policy by which alone peace can be achieved. To make widespread the understanding of that policy should now be our task.

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PROBLEMS OF TRADE UNIONISM IN 1936

[*In response to several requests it has been decided to continue or this further month the discussion on Trade Union Problems which was opened in the May issue by Arthur Horner, President of the South Wales Miners' Federation. Comrade Horner's summing up of the discussion will, in consequence, not be published till the October issue.*]

I.

By PERCY ALLOTT

(*City District Secretary, Shop Assistants' Union, Member of the Executive Committee, London Trades Council.*)

I AM very glad, through the courtesy of the Editor, to have the opportunity of expressing my views in the LABOUR MONTHLY on the many vital problems which confront the Trade Union Movement to-day. These problems are of local, national, and international importance, and embrace the following major subjects :—

1. The Unity of the Workers.
2. The problem of Unemployment in a World of Plenty.
3. The Fascist and War Menace.
4. The Democratisation of the League of Nations.
5. The Abolition of the Private Manufacture of Armaments.
6. The Necessity of providing Work or Maintenance.
7. Adequate Pensions for all Workers at the age of Sixty.
8. The Immediate Provision of Schemes of necessary and useful Public Works.
9. The Forty Hour Week and the Abolition of Unpaid Overtime.
10. The Abolition of both the Individual and Family Means Test.
11. The Prevention of the Exploitation of Young Persons in the Distributive and other trades.
12. The Scientific One Hundred Per Cent. Organisation of all Workers in their Trade Unions.

To obtain these objects *in our time*, and an eventual federation of World Socialist States, which is the only way to prevent poverty and war, *unity is essential.* To-day the trade union movement lags behind the employing classes. The trustification and rationalisation of industry and its financial control by the Big Banks has cemented their interests and bound them more closely together, but the trade union movement is divided by sectional interests. Its members think and act *sectionally* as miners, railwaymen, engineers, printers, shop assistants, clerks, etc., rather than

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as *workers with a common interest united in a common fight against the exploiting classes.* Sectional trade unionism cannot win against the tremendous forces of capitalism plus the powerful cohesive support of the big financial interests all united together in the Federation of British Industries.

For these reasons I am in favour of the affiliation of the Communist Party to the National Labour Party, and the closest possible co-operation with all working class bodies, and an intensified scientific recruiting campaign to achieve the objects already enumerated and to ensure the defeat of Fascism and the attainment of world peace. Our immediate objectives should therefore be as follows :—

(*a*) A United Front of all Workers.

(*b*) The formation of permanent Councils of Action for the propagation of Peace—local, regional and national.

(*c*) The appointment of panels of speakers from the delegates to every Trades Council.

These panels, together with the appointment of sub-committees of the delegates, to deal with these vital questions and immediate local problems, would strengthen the hands of the Trades Council secretaries and their executive committees, and also enable the trade union movement to carry on a continuous and effective recruiting campaign throughout the whole of the country, thus supplementing the work of the Trades Union Congress and the permanent trade union officials.

The United Front

The main arguments of those who oppose a United Front with the Communist Party may be summarised briefly as follows :—

(*a*) On account of their former alleged disruptive tactics.

(*b*) That the Communists are a negligible quantity.

(*c*) That they are so powerful they would destroy Democracy.

Arguments B and C cancel each other out and are obviously absurd. Regarding A it is true, in my opinion, that in the past, a few young and over exuberant self-styled Communists, did adopt such tactics, with harmful results to the trade union movement. But to rake up the dirty linen of the past and wash it for the edification of our fascist enemies, at a time when the workers are condemned to prolonged unemployment and semi-starvation, and while Democracy is fighting for its life, is contemptible.

Our Capitalist Patriots

The capitalist system throughout the world is now in the throes of dissolution. But its exponents are so blinded by insensate pride and

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lust of power, that they are prepared to risk the loss of the British Empire to foreign fascist dictators and gangsters, rather than see the triumph of Socialism and the eventual utilisation of the bounteous riches of nature for the benefit of the whole of mankind, instead of, as at the present time, for the enrichment of the idle and parasitic classes.

Those who have any doubts about the truth of this assertion should read the hysterical outpourings of the Rothermere, and other sections of the capitalist, press. They should then read Lord Strabolgi's article in the *Daily Herald* of Monday, August 10, 1936, "What Spain's War Means to Britain." It fully demonstrates the truth of Dr. Johnson's dictum: "Patriotism is the last refuge of scoundrels."

The Opponents of the United Front

Moreover, it should be borne in mind that those who oppose the United Front are the same people who acted as recruiting sergeants in the last capitalist war "to end war," and who defended the moonshine of Mond-Turnerism—collaboration with the patriots who fly the banner of Economic Nationalism, which must logically develop into Fascism, and, unless it is combated by the united forces of all the workers, eventually result in the destruction of democracy and civilisation.

Communists might well retort to these friends of Economic Nationalism: "*We* were not responsible for defending the *individual* Means Test. *We* were not responsible for setting up the May Commission, or for the Unemployment Insurance Anomalies Regulation Act, or for the Great Betrayal of 1926."

I am not a Communist. I cannot accept the whole of the Communist thesis, and in the past, I have suffered from the tactics of a few irresponsible Communists who suffered from the "treachery of all paid officials" complex. Nevertheless, if I had to choose between the dictatorship of the Communist Party and a fascist dictatorship I should choose the former. It cannot be truthfully asserted, in any case, that even now, the official Labour Movement is entirely free from dictatorship. It is, unfortunately, not entirely immune from the tyranny of its "Little Mussolinis" who are as afraid of free speech as the dictators they condemn, when they are on foreign soil.

The "Bogey" of Communism

If Communists are good enough to suffer torture and imprisonment, and to face the executioner's axe and to go smiling into the very jaws of death for their principles in order to defeat the common enemy of civilisation—Fascism, they are good enough to work with all lovers of Peace and Democracy. If I were a Communist I should be proud of

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the name—don't let that " bogey " frighten you. Even Liberalism and Socialism were used as " bogies " to frighten the workers at one time.

Permanent Councils of Action for Peace

The necessity for these is self-evident. We ought to have in every area, the machinery for mobilising *immediately all* the workers in each area in case of emergency, and to carry on a continuous educational trade union, co-operative and peace campaign, with the aid of the Communist, Labour Party and Co-operative Movements. Such machinery does not exist to-day. The panels of speakers to which I have already referred would be invaluable in this connection.

Centralised Trade Union Organisation in Greater London

There is one point in Mr. Bernard Sullivan's article with which I am in agreement. I think it is most unfortunate that the above scheme, drafted by Mr. A. M. Wall, the brilliant Secretary of the London Trades Council, in conjunction with the Trades Union Congress General Council, was opposed by the delegates on the assumption that it did not give sufficient autonomy to the local Trades Councils. No scheme is perfect or foolproof, but in my opinion, as an *immediate instalment*, it was a great improvement upon our present methods, and would have strengthened the trade union movement not only in London but throughout the country in its present important campaigns for the preservation of liberty and a proper standard of living in our time. I hope this problem will not be shelved because of this unfortunate defeat. The need for immediate action and unity is imperative. While we are talking, men and women and little children are dying.

II.

By "N.U.J."

WITH a membership of over 6,000 the National Union of Journalists is stronger numerically than ever before in its 29 years' history, and the spirit of trade unionism within its ranks is steadily growing.

How weak that spirit was intrinsically the 1926 General Strike clearly showed, for only a handful of men obeyed the Union's instruction not to blackleg the printers (to whom we were, and are, affiliated through the Printing and Kindred Trades' Federation) by writing for make-shift papers. The result was that the National Executive had to cancel the original instruction and allow its members to work on the make-shift papers produced all over the country.

The weakness was due to the confusion, still existing, as to the functions of a trade union. Fortunately more and more journalists are realising

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that it is impossible to separate industrial from political activity, but in spite of the development of capitalist monopoly in the newspaper industry the average N.U.J. member associates the "freedom of the Press" he wishes so jealously to guard with political neutrality on the part of the Union.

That is why the N.U.J. ceased affiliation to the T.U.C. when that body first subsidised the *Daily Herald*, the members refusing to indentify themselves however remotely with newspaper politics.

The *Daily Herald* objection is no longer valid, and T.U.C. affiliation has been voted on—unsuccessfully—more than once since then. A ballot vote is to be taken again this year, with good chances of success, because the rank and file is beginning to realise the practical benefits from closer alliance with the trade union movement.

Such a tendency can be observed among individual branches. Manchester, for instance, is affiliated to the local Trades Council, and London is balloting on a proposal to affiliate to their Trades Council.

What is making journalists increasingly class-conscious is the closed shop campaign for which a big drive is progressing, and which promises to become a vital issue. Such a struggle is bound to make office chapels more militant, and will tend to bring together printers and journalists. A concrete example is afforded by Manchester, where the Typographical Association has made a tentative move in the direction of backing N.U.J. chapel action towards the closed shop in any office where there is 100 per cent. T.A. membership, which means every office save one. A joint conference to discuss possibilities is being called.

This follows on the "united front" presented in the *Co-operative News* office in Manchester, where all chapels including the N.U.J. successfully backed the process workers in a dispute.

Rationalisation in the newspaper industry with its co-effects of speed-up, increased unemployment and rising profits, is gradually forcing the working journalist to the conclusion that he cannot negotiate a separate bargain with the employers. His strongest ally is the printer.

This truth is understood better in the big cities, where newspapers more obviously reflect their industrial character, than in the smaller towns and country areas, where journalism still cultivates an air of professional disinterestedness.

The N.U.J. can no longer afford to be disinterested in anything affecting journalism, and whilst emphatically protesting that it is not a political organisation it takes every now and again a step or two along a path that is certainly not to the "right"

The logic of international events led at last year's Annual Delegate Meeting to the passing of a definitely anti-fascist resolution, and a committee was appointed to find out how journalism would function in a Socialist state.

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This year an instruction was given for the calling of a world peace conference of newspaper organisations to promote a peace policy, and in recommending Carl von Ossietsky for the Nobel Peace Prize a protest was made against his imprisonment by the German Government.

Nearer at home was the resolution, carried unanimously, deploring " the recent tendency to introduce what amounts to a covert censorship by Government departments on news bearing on foreign affairs," and the Council of Liberties is to be consulted with a view to " preserving the liberties of the Press." The A.D.M. also decided that " newspaper proprietors should not allow editorial policy to be affected by advertising " in a resolution calling for free criticism.

Pious ? Perhaps. But at the same A.D.M. a Code of Professional Conduct was accepted by the Union which among other things guarantees Union support to any member who stands by this clause :

" A journalist.....should not falsify information or documents, or distort or misrepresent facts."

Is this too merely pious ? Scarcely when Mr. R. S. Forsyth, in his presidential address, said : " We have been unwilling partners in the departure from honoured standards ; we have been compelled, because we are wage-earners, to acquiesce in the exploitation and exaggeration of news, and to do things we ought not to have been asked to do."

Under the Code of Professional Conduct the trade union journalist can refuse to misrepresent facts, which means that the N.U.J. is committed to a fight against the exploitation and exaggeration of news so soon as the membership demands it.

This is one of the most important problems confronting our journalists' trade union, and it cannot long be postponed.

III.

By EVA REGAN

(*Burnley Weavers' Association.*)

HAVING recovered from the defeats of 1929 and 1932, the textile workers are moving forward for improved conditions. The Spinners' and Weavers' Amalgamations have been forced by their memberships to make applications for wages advances of 14 per cent. and 15 per cent. respectively ; the card-room workers are demanding improvements in working conditions ; and those sections of the manufacturing trade known as the ancillary workers (overlookers, tapers, warp dressers, clotherlookers, etc.), are making a determined resistance to the wage reductions of from 5 per cent. to 20 per cent.

The rank and file have forced the leading officials into the wage advance movement, and now they are bringing pressure upon them to unite the

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action of the workers and present a common front of the textile workers to the employers.

The decision of the Blackpool Conference of the United Textile Factory Workers' Association (U.T.F.W.A.), in favour of the resolution for one cotton textile trade union, expresses this desire. Mr. Andrew Naesmith, Secretary of the Weavers' Amalgamation, made this clear when, speaking in support of the resolution, he said :

> The idea (of one textile trade union) is simmering in the minds of the men and women at the loom and mule gate. If we do not do it quickly, they will compel us to do it later.

The resolution which called on the Legislative Council of the U.T.F.W.A. to explore the possibilities of setting up one national cotton textile trade union, and if necessary invite the aid of the Trades Union Congress, was passed after a fierce discussion by 79—76.

It would be wrong to dismiss the conflict at the Blackpool Conference as a mere quarrel between bureaucrats ; though, of course, they play a most important part in holding back unity.

The two main opponents of the resolution were the Spinners and Card Room Amalgamations. Their arguments were just a reactionary defence of craft unionism. Their motives were to avoid one union because the Weavers' Amalgamation would be the strongest section, and consequently the Spinners and Card Room Operatives might be swallowed up in the new organisation.

The other opponents in discussion (though they voted for the resolution) were some of the ancillary workers' unions, who made the justifiable claim that they had not been well supported by the Weavers' Amalgamation in their fight against the cotton manufacturers. They accused the Weavers' Amalgamation of bringing forward the resolution for one trade union, knowing full well it was an impractical proposition, only in order to evade their obligations in assisting the ancillary workers in the immediate struggle.

This discussion shows that the small unions distrust the bigger organisations ; that in all sections craft traditions exist and hamper, not only more effective union organisation, but even joint activity in disputes. It seems clear that before a single textile union can be discussed in anything more than an academic fashion, several more immediate questions will have to be dealt with.

First amongst these is the question of joint activity of all textiles trade unions in the present wages fight. Acting upon the one union resolution the Legislative Council should bring the organisations together to run a joint campaign on the immediate issues of wage advances in the spinning and weaving trades ; wage advances in the card rooms, and legislation for improvements in working conditions, in particular compensation for

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workers suffering ill-health through the dust in card rooms ; opposition to the Spindles Bill ; compensation for displaced operatives ; and no wages reduction for ancillary workers.

The Trades Union Congress and Labour Party should be called upon to take part in the campaign. Such a campaign would strengthen the membership of the trade unions, and prepare them for conflict with the employers. There is no doubt that the unity of all sections together would mean victory for the workers, and that experience would do more than a century of conferences to break down craft unionism and expedite the fusion of the trade unions.

The second question of immediate importance is that of improvements in the existing organisations which will make them more democratic, and give the opportunity for the problems " simmering in the minds of the men and women at loom and mule gate " to find more frequent and decisive expression. I will deal only with the Weavers' Associations though some points might apply to the Spinners' Unions and other bodies.

There are twenty-six local Weavers' Unions. Each is an autonomous body. They are federated into what is misnamed a Weavers' Amalgamation.

Many of the Associations are so small, having only a few hundred members in a little town, that they have the greatest difficulty in maintaining premises and a secretary. Most of the small Associations found it impossible to attempt to carry out the weavers' wages campaign.

Great improvement would arise from even the following alterations in the existing weavers' organisations.

(*a*) That small Associations with, say, a membership less than 1,000 should be merged with the nearest big local Association.

(*b*) The Central Committee of the Weavers' Amalgamation should have at least 50 per cent. of its members working at the loom. That decisions of the Weavers' Amalgamation be binding on all local Associations, and that in those cases where the Associations have difficulty in carrying out decisions, the Amalgamation should be obliged to give assistance.

(*c*) That there should be monthly members' meetings.

(*d*) That the local Association committees should consist of representatives from the mills, elected by the weavers.

It seems to me that the above are pre-conditions of any more far-reaching reorganisation of the Union. If they could be achieved at the present time it would be possible, in the not too distant future, to raise as a practical problem the reorganisation of the textile trade unions along the following lines.

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An amalgamation of all cotton textile unions could be built on the basis of one trade union in each main section of the trade, *e.g.*, one union for weavers and other crafts engaged in the manufacturing process ; one union for the spinners and piecers ; one union for card, ring and blowing room. The Weavers' and Allied Workers' Trades Union would do away with the local Weavers' Associations and combine them into one union based on several branches to the town.

It should be possible in most cases to organise the branch on the basis of the mill. The weavers would appoint their mill committee, and representatives from the mill branch to a town committee, which would be the equivalent of the present local Association. The alternative to the mill branch would be an area branch, as obtains in most unions. At the present time some local Associations as, for instance, in Blackburn and Burnley, appoint the weavers' committee by an election of a representative from a particular district of the town. These union election wards could provide the basis for a weavers' union branch. The branch would appoint its representative to the Town Executive Committee. But in the case of area branches it would be necessary to establish a shop stewards' movement. The branches should meet fortnightly. Membership should be open to all over 15 years, and the right to hold an official position to anybody having been in the Union twelve months and more than 18 years of age.

Those organisations other than weavers would not lose full independence in the union, but would continue to exist as sections of the Weavers' and Allied Workers' Union, along the lines of the various sections of the Transport and General Workers' Union. They would have their own branches, which would be on an area basis, and would send representatives to the town executive committee.

The general secretary, assistant general secretary, and president of the union would be appointed by ballot vote of the members. The union executive would consist of a number of weavers appointed by ballot vote of the members in selected districts, with the addition of representatives from the ancillary sections. The majority of the executive would be workers from the mill. The work of the executive would be controlled by a delegate conference which would meet every month or when required. It would be the highest organ of the union. No agreement could be signed, nor a strike terminated without a ballot vote of the membership.

Through the T.U.C. approaches could be made to the N.U.G.M.W. and the T. & G.W.U. to transfer into the newly-formed Weavers' Union the members of their organisation now working in the weaving trade at Spondon, Derbyshire, and places in the South of England.

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The Spinners' and Piecers' Union would, as the name implies, give full rights to piecers. They would be organised as a separate section, with their own appointed officials and representatives on all leading committees. The Spinners' and Piecers' branches could be formed on the basis of the mill, because this is the traditional mode of organisation in the spinning trade. The mill committee would be composed of an equal number of spinners and piecers' representatives elected by the members. The " little piecers " should have representatives on all leading bodies. The higher structure of the organisation would be similar to that of the Weavers' Union.

The Card Room Workers' Union could also be fashioned after the proposals made for the Weavers' Unions.

The Amalgamation would unite these three organisations for joint activity, something along the lines that the N.F.B.T.O. brings together many sections of the building trades. Its officials would be appointed by ballot votes of the members, and their particular activity would be to see that common action was organised by all sections so far as possible in every dispute, even local disputes.

In all cases, for the unions and the Amalgamation, it would be essential to have a greater number of women amongst the officials than obtains at present. One would never imagine from a survey of the officialdom of the textile trades, even the local officials, that women were the majority of those working at the trade and in the union.

These proposals are put forward to create discussion on the questions of strengthening the textile unions. I hope that they will succeed in that, and that the militants can work out a practical programme for which they can at once commence to fight in the trade unions.

The textile trade unions are more behind the times and the needs of present-day trade unionism than the power looms are behind the highly efficient technique with which the textile Stakhanovites of the U.S.S.R. perform miracles of productive efficiency. If we can force the leaders to bring the unions together in the present wages conflict we shall have taken a big step forward to achieving some of the other ideas contained in this article.

[Previous contributions in this series were from : *J. R. Campbell* and also *Gordon Hicks* (Typographical Association) in the June issue ; *Bernard Sullivan* (Tailors and Garment Workers), *James Barr* (Patternmakers), *Ted Hill* (Boilermakers) and *Norman Wiseman* (Typographical Association) in the July issue ; *J. D. Lawrence* (Amal. Engineering Union), *W. Monslow* (Assoc. Soc. Loco. Engineers and Firemen), *A Member of Railway Clerks Association* and *J. Jacobs* (Furnishing Trades Assoc.) in the August issue. Copies of each of these issues can be obtained for 7d. post free from 7 John Street, London, W.C.1.]

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PROBLEMS OF LABOUR POLICY

[*At the beginning of this year in view of the many issues arising out of the General Election in relation to the future of Labour Policy the* LABOUR MONTHLY *decided to invite Labour M.P.s, Labour Candidates and others active in the Labour Movement to contribute their views. The following is a further series of replies to this invitation: the names of previous contributors will be found at the conclusion.*]

I.

By E. A. GOWER

(*Secretary, Exchange (Manchester) Divisional Labour Party, and former Secretary, Manchester Borough Labour Party*).

WHAT will happen at the Labour Party's Annual Conference? The clash between the National Executive and the forces fighting for unity becomes more acute as the first crucial stage in the campaign approaches. There is now no doubt in anyone's mind that the main issue to be discussed by the Conference is the question of the Communist Party affiliation. Nor is there any doubt that day by day the demand for affiliation is growing. Increasingly, too, the worker inside his Trade Union branch or local Labour Party is asking, *Why* should the National Executive oppose the affiliation?

The affiliation of a comparatively small organisation of some ten thousand members to the Labour Party, with its half million individual members and five times that number of affiliated members is not, on the face of it, a matter of great importance. There can certainly be no question of an affiliated Communist Party controlling Party policy against the wishes of the great Trade Unions, through voting strength.

The National Executive does not make a claim so obviously absurd, but its spokesmen state that acceptance of the Communist Party affiliation would compromise the Labour Party. In the past the acceptance of a socialist society's affiliation fees has not been held by the National Executive to imply approval of, or even sympathy with, the society's policy. For years the I.L.P. was in violent disagreement with Eccleston Square and Transport House, but it was left to the I.L.P. to sever its association with the Labour Party, not vice-versa. An affiliated society can pursue its own policy within the Labour Party, as the Socialist

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League is doing to-day. That is the National Executive's official attitude. What reason have they for changing it ?

The Labour Party was formed to give effect to the political aims of the Trade Union movement, and in accordance with that purpose the political machinery of the Party—the Divisional Parties—has never been allowed other than a nominal right to discuss or influence Party policy. But the Party has restricted individual membership to those who " if eligible for Trade Union membership are Trade Unionists." The Divisional Parties therefore embrace the most active political elements of the Trade Union movement, and it is from the Divisional Parties that the demand for acceptance of the Communist affiliation is most insistent. The excuse of political " compromise " is pleaded to conceal their real fears by Trade Union leaders with only a second hand knowledge of politics.

It is interesting to note that Mr. Herbert Morrison, in an attempt to strengthen the National Executive's case, and to explain the inward meaning of the word " compromise," has ascended into the realm of higher mathematics, and has attempted to adduce that the cost of accepting the Communist Party's application would be the loss of an astronomical number of middle-class votes, which, unfortunately for Mr. Morrison's argument, we have never had to lose.

The real fear which is concealed by the false arguments and unsavoury rhetoric of the *Daily Herald* and the National Executive lies in the unavowed recognition that the Labour Party's general political attitude is no longer acceptable to at least a large minority of the Party, and that the strength behind the Communist Party campaign for affiliation is backed up by loyal Labour Party members only because the Communist Party has placed itself at the head of the movement for a restatement of national policy. The Communist Party has shown a capacity for leadership in this struggle, and it is leadership which the rank and file are demanding.

The root difference between the National Executive's political line and that of the protagonists of unity is the difference between reformism and Marxism. Hitherto the British Labour Movement has been predominantly reformist, but the impact of events has shaken the ordinary worker's belief in the ultimate and undisturbed success of Parliamentary measures. The line of thought is—General Strike, Trades Disputes Act, Italy, Germany, Austria, France, Spain—Britain ?

The force behind the Communist application for affiliation is not Communist propaganda, but the propaganda of hard facts, and the refusal of the National Executive to face these facts is reflected in its apathy and the aimlessness of its policy.

The Labour Party to-day lacks leaders because it lacks a live policy. It has won as much as it can win through the policy of reformism ; either it must accept the Marxist line or it will continue to crumble away. At

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the Annual Conference not the Communist Party but the reformist tactics of the National Executive will be on trial. Unless the Conference has the courage to accept the new policy it will lead the Party to further disasters such as 1931 and 1935. It is because behind the Communist application for affiliation is gathered the whole strength of the demand for a real socialist policy that the National Executive is opposing the application. Its spokesmen are afraid of a militant socialist movement, while the workers in the Party are eager to help in the building up of such a movement. They know at first hand the increasingly acute struggle with capitalism; they recognise that reformism cannot win further concessions, and cannot even prevent the development of fascism. Unless the enthusiasm of the workers in the Party is given effect to by the Conference, it will be a fatal Conference for the Labour Party.

II.

By GEORGE HINDLE

(*Labour Councillor. Agent for the Warrington Trades Council and Labour Party and Editor of "The Warrington and District Labour News."*)

THE British Labour Movement cannot isolate itself from the pressure of world events, which hang heavy over the world working-class movement. These events are too well known to require much reiteration. All the unsolved problems arising from the War and the Peace; the developing crisis within capitalism; the concurrent rise and development of Fascism and the active renewal of the struggle for the re-division of the world present themselves for solution. Their solution raises problems for the working class movement in every country, demanding changes in organisation, policy, method, leadership, demanding above all else the unity of working class forces.

Nowhere does this response to enforced change seem to be more retarded than within the British working-class movement. The old nineteenth century conservatism and outlook of that movement responds but slowly to the pressure of world events. Nevertheless recent events in France and Spain, the establishment of Fascism in Germany, Austria and Italy compel thought, stirring it to activity and the will to action.

What is the nature of these changes that will be compelled? They concern and affect not only the political but the industrial movement. They are changes in organisation, policy and method, and leadership. The main change in organisation required is the transformation of the basis of the Labour Party from that of a Federation basis to that of a mass basis. The Labour Party must become the mass party of the working class. Policy, method, and leadership are based upon the present form of the organisation of the Labour Party, and from it arise

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its many weaknesses, well known and realised by those who have given lifelong service to the Party organisation.

It is necessary to mention the foregoing because the peculiar organisation of the Labour movement in this country, the Federation basis of the Labour Party, the conditions leading to the growth and development of the movement, the comparatively high standard of life of the British working class—reflecting the prosperity of British Imperialism in its best days—must be understood when we deal with the problems of the movement at the present time.

It is difficult to persuade the working-class of this country that the comparative prosperity they have enjoyed is ending. The Means Test, unfortunately, only compels the attention of those closely connected with its incidence and operation. The insular outlook of the British working-class, shaken a little by the realisation that scientific development has somewhat destroyed its basis, still continues. Direct attacks upon the standard of life of the workers cause resentment which is sporadic, because it is confined to sections at a time. The indirect method of attack adopted by the British governing class, the cleverest in the world, does not create much resentment.

It therefore appears to me that the most advanced sections within the Labour movement demand something which is not yet within that movement, simply because internal conditions are not operating sufficiently to put it there.

What urge for change there is within the Labour movement of Britain arises not so much from the fact of the oppression of British workers as it does from sympathy within the Labour movement for the workers of other countries suffering oppression. This is due to the fact that the struggle for and the achievement of democracy has always had a wide appeal amongst the people of this country, and at the same time perhaps accounts for the fact of the tardy response of the leaders and rank and file of the Labour movement in this country in identifying themselves with what are called " revolutionary " working-class elements in other countries. The lukewarm response of the British trade union movement to the appeal for trade union unity at the recent I.F.T.U. Conference appears to support this view.

It therefore appears to me that the problem before us in this country must be set somewhat differently from that in other countries. How can the urge for unity which is now appearing here be accelerated in advance of the general opinion that seems to be prevailing within the Labour movement? Will the propaganda for the affiliation of the Communist Party achieve that object? Would the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party solve the problems confronting our Labour movement? In short, is the best way to the unity of the

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democratic forces in this country found in the suggestion of the affiliation of the Communist Party? My reply to these questions is—No.

All the old hostilities and divisions within the Labour movement are apt to be revived by such tactics and the result is adverse to and detrimental to unity. All the propaganda for and against affiliation savours of a partisanship which only confuses the ordinary man and woman, who are the mainstays of democracy, and to whom ultimately we have to appeal for support. We must not forget we are not appealing to students and to an educated opinion well versed in Marxism and the arguments put forward in respect to this question of unity.

The basis of our democratic appeal has to be preserved because of the tremendous number of people in this country who believe in democracy and who unfortunately remain outside even the influence of the industrial and political wings of the Labour movement. I believe that a much broader basis of an appeal to unity is necessary to embrace all "left" and democratic elements. A working arrangement between all "left" and democratic organisations and sections opposed to war and Fascism under the ægis of the Labour Party appears to me to be the best method of proceeding to unity. This possibility should be explored. This necessitates an agreed programme. For some sections it would be regarded as their maximum, for others their minimum. Such a programme would have to be broad in its appeal and adapted to meet existing events. Such a working arrangement envisages an electoral arrangement. The main immediate objective, however, is to defeat the "National" Government, and in face of the Fascist War offensive to elect a People's Government to strengthen the weakened Peace Front.

From such a working arrangement, if influenced by world trade union unity arising from the discussion to be initiated, which must lead in turn to international socialist unity, we should eventually get in this country not "affiliations" but fusion. We should get the basis of that real mass party of the working class and with it a solution of the problems now forcing their way to the front within the movement.

[Previous contributions by *David Freeman* (late Labour Candidate for Portsmouth, C.), *R. F. St. J. Reade* (Westbury), *E. Shearer* (Aylesbury), and *Professor G. E. G. Catlin* (Sunderland), will be found in the February issue; *Prof. Harold J. Laski*, *John Lewis* (Great Yarmouth), *W. H. Bennett* (Dover), and *D. W. Flanagan* (Editor "Rotherhithe Labour News"), in the March issue; *R. McKinnon Wood* (Harborough), *T. D. Smith* (Member, first E.C. of N.C.L.C.), *John Morris* (Gen. Secretary, University Labour Federation), *Leonard Wells* and *R.P.D.* (in his Notes), in the April issue; *George Hicks, M.P.*, in the May issue; *Aneurin Bevan, M.P.*, *Rev. Richard Lee* (West Wolvehampton), *Councillor A. E. Turpin* (N.E. Bethnal Green L.P.), *G. D. Miller* (late Chairman, Oxford University Labour Club), and *B. J. Chaplin* (Newport Labour League of Youth) in the June issue; *Councillor H. Eastwood* (Agent and Secretary, Bolton Labour Party), *Councillor R. Bland* (Nelson Borough Council), *Councillor G. Treacher* (Watford Borough Council), and *L. Franklyn-Vaile* (Chairman, Norwood Socialist League), in the July issue; *G. R. Strauss, M.P., L.C.C.*, *Councillor Tom Regan* (Manchester), *J. C. Daniels* (Secretary, Durham University Labour Club), and *William Rust* in the August issue. A copy of each of these issues can be obtained from THE LABOUR MONTHLY, 7 John Street, London, W.C.1, for 7d. post free.]

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THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF THE ANTIKAINEN TRIAL

By HARRY POLLITT

THE tourist, who travels from the complacency of Stockholm, its contented and prosperous streets and its abundance of bourgeois comforts, at first believes he has reached another such enlightened and progressive city when he walks through the streets of Helsingfors. But close inquiry and a careful study of conditions would soon show him that a democratic government, worker's rights and freedom of the press are rapidly disappearing in Finland. It is easier to find similarities between Finland and modern Germany than between Finland and other Scandinavian countries.

The Fascist trend of Finnish politics is well represented by the recent trial of Toivo Antikainen, the Russian general, who has been charged in Finland with roasting a White Finnish prisoner alive during the invasion of Soviet Carelia by the White Finns in 1922. Carelia was a particularly desirable land to the White Guards with their imperialist ambitions, and its river Systerback formed a natural frontier against Russia. The numerous other rivers and cataracts were sources for electric power and there were vast areas of forest and valuable mineral resources. In 1919 an abortive attempt was made by the White Finns to overthrow the newly established autonomous Soviet State in Carelia. In 1921 they attacked again, although the peace treaty of Dorpat between Finland and Russia had been signed the year before. During this campaign, Antikainen was put in charge of special forces who travelled on skis, carrying all their stores on their backs. He crossed the line of battle and surprised the staff of the enemy at Kiimisjarvi, some 35 miles behind the front and completely routed them. This was a decisive battle which ended the war and the White Finns withdrew from Carelia. Antikainen was awarded high military honours and had a great reception in Moscow, and since then he has been a popular hero in Russia and the subject of several adventure books for boys. He is now charged in Finland, fourteen years after the campaign, with committing a terrible atrocity. It is necessary to follow the political development of Finland during recent years to show how it is possible for such a fantastic trial to take place.

After the civil wars in Finland, and the unsuccessful revolution, the workers were condemned in mass trials and shot or imprisoned. The

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official figures show that 15,814 workers were shot and over 11,000 died in concentration camps. Although they had suffered such enormous losses, the working class gradually built up their organisation again, and the older people who had lost their sons in the struggle were particularly active. Class consciousness was intensified, and there was a strong revolutionary movement. A group of workers tried to build up an open Communist Party in 1921, but the inaugurating meeting was crowded with political police, and at the moment when it was declared that the Finnish Communist Party was affiliated to the Third International, the police broke up the meeting and arrested the leaders. In 1923, a left wing syndicalist movement was also destroyed by the police. During these years the official Social Democratic Party was represented in the Riksdag, and in 1925 was actually in power, but it had no influence or no apparent desire to stop the persecution of the workers' movement.

The trade union organisations were not seriously molested, until 1930. In 1929 they had about 90,000 members, about 75,000 Left Wing workers and 15,000 orthodox Social Democrats. The smaller group separated from the main body and started their own federation. This was a signal to the capitalists, which came at an opportune moment, to destroy the main strong trade union movement. The depression was approaching and it was essential to lower wages. The big capitalists, who belonged to the Swedish minority in Finland, combined with the extreme Finnish nationalists, with the army officers, who had been trained in Germany, and with the political police to support the growing fascist "Lapua" movement. In 1929-30 there were numerous individual acts of terrorism by the fascists; selected workers were kidnapped, beaten up, driven over the frontier and threatened with death should they return; the workers' printing press was raided and destroyed; the municipal governments were purged of workers' representatives. After considerable fascist agitation in July, 1930, the representatives in the Riksdag of the Workers' and Small Peasants' Party were arrested. Of the 23 members in the party, 14 were imprisoned for two to five years, the rest having fled from the country, while their local and electoral organisations were destroyed.

This violent procedure was followed in September by the dissolution of the entire trade union organisation with the exception of the Social Democratic minority union movement. The government, under fascist pressure, not content with destroying the workers' political life abolished all their sports and cultural associations with the exception of some groups associated with the Social Democratic Party.

In 1931 there was a reaction against the hooligan methods of the Fascists, which had culminated in the kidnapping of the first President of Finland, the prominent Liberal Stollberg and his wife. Among those implicated was the chief of the general staff. The reaction took the form of mild protests in the press.

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In 1932 there was a premature coup d'etat by the fascist "Lapua" movement, which has since been known as the I.K.L. (Patriotic People's Party). The "Lapua" volunteers came from all parts of Finland and concentrated in a small village preparing to march on Helsingfors. A state of emergency was declared, the army remained loyal to the government, and the Fascists failed. They submitted on very good terms, a universal amnesty was granted, and they returned home fully armed. Since then the fascist movement has used constitutional rather than violent methods to achieve power. The Coalition government, although occasionally protesting against fascist demands, is often sympathetic to their aims. There have recently been a number of laws passed of fascist inspiration. The Sedition Law is aimed at any form of agitation against the present State. The Press laws forbid any serious criticism of the government's actions, and there are numerous anti-Communist laws. The Fascists foster the intense Finnish Nationalist movement which is developing rapidly. They are anxious to remove the Swedish minority, 10 per cent. of the population in Finland, from public life, business, schools and universities, and to abolish the Swedish language. Already, Swedes have been insulted in restaurants in Helsingfors for speaking their own language. "Finland for the Finns!" As the Swedes have been in Finland since the twelfth century, their eradication is even more absurd than Hitler's drive against the Jews.

Not content with their agitation against the Communists and the Swedes, the Fascists are now pressing for the dissolution of the Social Democratic Party, on the formal grounds that it is hostile to the state since it is affiliated to international organisations. Although the Social Democrats gained 78 out of 200 seats in the last election, they are not represented in the reactionary Coalition government. But the government has protected the Social Democrats in return for their support. The combination of both the Social Democrats and the Swedish Peoples Party with the government was supposed to check the growth of extreme Fascism. Now it is not unlikely that the coalition will withdraw their protection to the Social Democrats under fascist pressure.

In the General Election campaign, the Fascists boasted of holding 10,000 election meetings. As a result of their anti-Swedish policy they are no longer supported by the Swedish capitalists in Finland, but it is believed that they have financial support from Germany for their expensive propaganda and election campaigns. The amount of German propaganda in Finland is alarming; every week there are lectures and "distinguished visitors"; the newspapers report Hitler's activities very favourably; tourist traffic between the two countries is encouraged in every way, especially as there is a new service of large tourist steamers. The teaching of German in the schools and universities has increased recently. A

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fascist Finland wedged in between the Scandinavian countries and Russia is a desirable and necessary condition for German expansionist policy along the Baltic coast.

This gradual breaking up of the workers' movement and the dangerous fascist advance was viewed with dismay in Russia. In 1934, Toivo Antikainen was sent to Finland in order to attempt to reorganise the illegal Communist Party. His activities were soon discovered and he was sentenced to the maximum penalty for a political offence—imprisonment for eight years. This sentence did not satisfy the reactionary White Finns, among whom the memory of their defeat by Antikainen still rankled bitterly. This personal hatred, combined with their fanatical anti-Communist policy inspired the fascist political police to produce this extraordinary charge against him of roasting the White Finn, Marjoniemi, alive.

Investigations in the home village of Marjoniemi show that he was entered in the parish register as fallen in battle. There were no rumours of his having been burnt until 1934, when the Finnish police began their search for witnesses. His own family certainly did not suspect any such atrocity, since in 1928 his parents accepted an imposter as their son, miraculously returned, until the false identity was proved. However, the political police collected a number of witnesses for the prosecution, chiefly White Carelians, who had been fighting against Antikainen. They are now refugees from Soviet Carelia and have no legal status as Finnish citizens, are subject to deportation, and are entirely dependant on the good-will of the police.

The case against Antikainen was first heard in March, 1935 by the local court of the district where he was arrested. After a short postponement of the case, he was found guilty in April and condemned to lifetime penal servitude. The fascist newspapers appeared with sensational headlines, " Finn Burnt Alive betweeen the Bayonets of Red General."

The same papers agitated for the revival of the death penalty, which had not been put into force for over 100 years. In July, the Court of Appeals confirmed the judgment of the lower court. The case was stated in writing to the Supreme Court in November, and they announced their decision to send it back for re-trial to the original court in the beginning of December. This announcement was made at the time of a conference of the Scandinavian prime ministers in Helsingfors, possibly as a move to conciliate the progressive opinions of these visitors. The lower court met again in December, but there was a further postponement till March, 1936, so that arrangements might be made for the presence of witnesses from Russia. When the Russian witnesses were heard in March, each one gave simple but forceful evidence for the defence, and by testimony as to Antikainen's movements and conduct during the campaign, made a strong case for his innocence.

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The procedure of the final hearing was fantastic. The judge directed the trial, asked questions on his own accord and obviously sympathised with the lawyer for the prosecution. He bullied the witnesses, and repeatedly heard two together asking them leading questions until their evidence agreed. Although hearsay evidence is not recognised by Finnish law, the evidence was chiefly third or fourth hand, or strangely irrelevant accounts of Red atrocities during the civil war. The witnesses were allowed to discuss the case freely together in the prison waiting room. The secret police were seen to talk frequently with the correspondent of the chief fascist newspaper, which distinguished itself by publishing the events of the trial several hours before they happened. It was hardly surprising to learn that the jury who came from Swedish speaking Finland could not speak Finnish in which the trial was conducted ! It should be added that in Finland the jury can only overrule the decision of the judge when their verdict is unanimous. In these circumstances it was not surprising that the former verdict of lifetime penal servitude was returned. The foreign journalists and lawyers who attended the trial sympathised with Antikainen's cry of " Legalised murder! " when he heard his sentence.

There was a sensational development immediately after the trial, when Matvejev, the one Russian witness for the defence, who had changed his evidence during the trial until it constituted an important part of the prosecution's case, admitted he had done so under threats and bribes. The witnesses for the prosecution threatened " to tear him to pieces " while he crouched in the corner of the waiting room " like a frightened bird," unless he altered his evidence. He was taken to see " a gentleman " who told him what to say, gave him money and promised him more. It is not difficult to recognise the " gentleman " as a prominent member of the secret political police by Matvejev's description. He was only able to make these statements after his return to the Soviet Embassy when he had escaped from the custody of his tormentors, who had carried him off. As he had been guaranteed immunity in Finland, this incident aroused great indignation in Russia. There were notes exchanged between the two governments, and full reports were published in *Pravda* and other Russian papers.

There seems little doubt that the whole case has been a first class " frame-up " by the fascist political police in the best Leipzig tradition. The *Times* recently published a supplement intended to illustrate friendly Anglo-Finnish relations and the amenities of Finland for the tourist in search of a pleasant and enlightened country. No doubt there will also soon be tours arranged to the sunny, civilised Italian East Africa Empire ! Meanwhile Finland can offer charming scenery and many fascist delights.

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BOOK REVIEWS

"WORLD POLITICS"

World Politics, 1918-1936. R. Palme Dutt. Gollancz. 382 pp. 5s.

WITH the publication of this brilliant Marxist survey of World Politics, by Comrade Dutt, Messrs. Gollancz, the publishers, and the Left Book Club—with its almost 20,000 members—have rendered a great service to every sincere student of modern problems. The book will have a great influence in the Labour Movement. And I know many serious-minded Liberals who have had their ideas badly shaken up by the clarity of Dutt's explanations of what, to them, had been perplexing problems and insoluble mysteries.

To many people the period 1918-1936 has been one of unexplained crises, wars, revolutions and upheavals. These changes have swept forward with such puzzling rapidity that, to many, it seemed impossible to link them up to one fundamental cause. The attempts made by the usual leaders of "public opinion" to interpret the changes all turned out to be wrong and so much windy nonsense. The verbosity of Lloyd George proved to be as empty as the prophetic conceits of H. G. Wells. The advance of crushing facts exposed the apologists of capitalism and vindicated the truth of the Marxist analysis.

The strength of Dutt's analysis consists in his ability to show how capitalism is smashing itself against the many contradictions which are the logical outcome of its social structure. These contradictions, in forcing themselves forward appear in various forms, national and international, as crises. Once the reader grasps this fact he will be able to apply Dutt's method to future upheavals.

The author explains, time after time, how modern imperialist states, by raising ever higher the barriers of nationalism—at the moment in history when the industrial forces are straining to expand upon an international basis—are strangling economic development. Thus capitalism has reached the stage where its political form of class rule is acting as a fetter upon the production of wealth. By this historical test we know that capitalism has passed into its period of decay—and this period is therefore one of wars and class struggles.

The process of capitalist accumulation has led to an epoch of imperialist conflict and the clash of conflicting groups of finance-capital all fighting each other over the division of the world. This explains why, as the decadence of capitalism deepens and the contradictions reach exploding point, the armaments of the imperialist states increase with fantastic and dangerous rapidity. Capitalist statesmen know what a new world war will mean but they are driven towards it by the forces they cannot control.

The sensational growth of armaments in recent years outstrips all other sections of industry. This does not, in the final resort, ease the problem in any way. It only intensifies the already unequal line and lopsided method of industrial expansion—and creates greater instability. Thus, the very avenues through which capitalism seeks to escape lead to intensified crises. This aspect of the problem reaches its most critical phase in the fascist states and forces forward military adventures.

While the Imperialist States raise ever higher their national barriers against each other, a fierce conflict takes place within these barriers between Capital and Labour. In consequence of the crises of capitalism, the exploitation of the workers is increased, and they are threatened in new and various ways. Unemployment throws them under the inquisition of the Means Test or the forced labour camps. The drive of rationalisation increases production and decreases the number of employed and adds new terrors to their insecurity. It creates additional problems and adds to the ratio of accidents and increases the number of mining disasters. The workers realise that their problems are not of a

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purely national character. They know that their conditions, with slight variations, are very similar in other capitalist countries. In building their industrial and political organisations they use every weapon they have wrung from capitalism to challenge the rule of the propertied interests to transform the social structure of society. As the crisis cannot be solved within the orbit of capitalism, the workers become increasingly inspired by the triumphs of the planned economy of the U.S.S.R., under the leadership of the Marxists. The policy of the masses cuts right across the path of economic nationalism and imperialism and they see the solution along the road of international socialism. All this creates new difficulties for the ruling class who resort to open violence by destroying all democratic instruments, uprooting their own parliamentary institutions, and pass over to ruling by means of the naked terrorism of fascism.

Fascism not only smashes every vestige of working class organisation but, as we have seen, depends more and more upon war as the instrument of its policy. It is because of this that the struggle against war and fascism has become the most important factor in the world politics of the Labour Movement—and of all those who are anxious to enforce peace and protect democracy.

It is the shallowest of illusions to imagine that fascism only attacks the Communist or Left Wing masses. This stupid idea is put forward by right wing Labourists, who having renounced the struggle against capitalism, use it as a pretext for refusing to organise the United Front. The attack upon the moderate government of Spain, by the fascists, is the best reply to such nonsense. The situation in Spain, which has developed since Dutt's book was written, is the clearest historical proof that his analysis of the world politics of capitalism, in its final phase, is correct. The Spanish struggle further shows the alarming strength of the forces of reaction in this country—from the National Government, and its influential allies, to the sadistic hysteria of the tory press—all eager to strike at the earliest possible moment. Dutt's warning that there is no time to lose in organising, upon the broadest basis, every possible unit against fascism and war, becomes more serious every day.

While the author gives a most comprehensive survey of the many elements working for fascism and war in the world, he also shows in the final chapter—a most valuable and stimulating section—the strength of the many powerful forces that can be organised against them.

Finally, I suggest that the many discussion and study circles, up and down the country, could do no better than use *World Politics*, 1918-1936 as a text book. Each of the eight chapters is splendidly arranged for such work. Although the book is only a few weeks old, I have already used it to open discussions in various parts of the Midlands, and I cannot remember a work that has aroused such interest in all sections of the Labour Movement.

WM. PAUL.

A WORM'S-EYE VIEW OF RUSSIA.

I Search for Truth in Russia. By Sir Walter Citrine, K.B.E. Routledge. 368 pp. 10s. 6d.

SIR Walter Citrine—" one whom the king delights to honour "—has done the gentlemanly thing by those who elevated him to the distinction of K.B.E.

The pleasure of being called " Sir Walter "—by the common groundlings who merely find his wages for him—and of hearing his wife " your ladyshipped " by the cook, the kitchen-maid, and the woman-over-the-way, was worth its price. And Sir Walter has paid the first instalment.

He has been to Russia ! (With Lady Citrine !) He has returned from Russia ! And in 368 pages he has said—what the stranger said about the famous jumping frog of Calaveras County—" I don't see no points about that 'ere frog what's better'n any other frog ! "

And like the famous stranger, he takes a short and easy road to reach his verdict.

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The stranger did it with a handful of buckshot poured into the unfortunate frog to the serious prejudice of its jumping powers. Sir Walter does it by looking, avowedly, *not* at what has been done in the U.S.S.R., but at what has *not* been done.

He finds nothing—literally *nothing* in the U.S.S.R. is *perfect!* "There you are," he says, "I told you so! Russia is not a Paradise!"

Also he says: "As to the utility of the United Front in Great Britain, I am entirely unconvinced of its value."

That therein he is merely plagiarising the opinions of the late, unlamented, J. H. Thomas, doesn't disturb Sir Walter. "Jimmy" was all right in his way—until he "blotted his copy-book." But *he* never made *his* wife a "*Lady*."

. . .

Sir Walter's methods are simple: He observes every place which looks as if it needed a coat of paint and notes it. He goes, if he is forced, to see new housing schemes, and notes that the bricks aren't laid straight—or that it would look better for a coat of plaster. He notes that few people in Russia black their boots; that smartly-got-up men are seldom seen; that well-dressed women—or women with good silk stockings—are not often met with. That the lavatory accommodation is—not up to English standards! [N.B. a report from Sir Walter on the lavatory accommodation of Paris—or France generally—would be interesting].

All this accumulation is his until finally he accuses his guide outright:—"You are a long way behind in catering for the needs of your people."

"You." "Your people!" Smart Sir Walter! Clever Sir Walter! You-can't-diddle-me Sir Walter! Sir Walter, who prepared for his "search for truth" by reading the most vicious anti-Soviet propaganda (Chamberlin's *Russia's Iron Age*) he could find, strips himself naked in that one simple phrase.

He simply cannot conceive the situation except in conventional terms of the Government and *its* people. Such a conception as that of the People and *the Government they employ—of the People, collectively, doing things for themselves* is far beyond his horizon.

Other men have taken a bird's-eye view of Russia: he takes a worm's-eye view—the view of a worm which being an official, K.B.E., truly-British worm, is a stiff-necked worm, one that cannot turn far enough round to see what sort of a worm it is.

. . .

What is in a nutshell this worm's indictment of the U.S.S.R.?

That the best the U.S.S.R. has done in the way of construction still leaves the U.S.S.R. behind *the best* technical achievements of the capitalist world.

He admits that a tremendous lot has been done to re-house the population. He admits that the worst in Russia is not so bad as the worst elsewhere—in Spain for example. But still he avows that if "the Government" had devoted less time, resources and energy to industrial development and more to supplying "necessities for the people" they ("the Government" often said) might have done better in these respects.

He admits that much in the U.S.S.R. is admirable—equal pay for equal work as between the sexes, for instance—but still women *do* have to work, at all sorts of jobs that "we in Britain" do not consider "women's work." (Lady Citrine, apparently, was highly scandalised). He admits that the *créches* and kindergartens, and the whole handling of children's education and welfare generally, is highly to be praised, but a calculation on the back of an envelope proves that there are *not enough créches to supply the whole population!*

Similarly, there are not enough rest homes to supply *every* worker and peasant with a rest cure—*all at the same time!*

Also there is a lot of bad workmanship in sight. Proof? He went to inspect the Dneiper Dam: "unquestionably it was a fine engineering feat, although the

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finish seemed to be very rough. *Everywhere there were the marks on the concrete of the boards which had been used in the building process.*"

. . .

Sir Walter's chief obsession (naturally !) was the "tyranny" exercised by "the Government" as compared with the "freedom" allowed by the nice, kind, *British* Government to *its* people.

He finds that every important factory and power station is guarded by armed men in uniform. He goes all "British" at this, and protests. He is told that they are not G.P.U. guards, but guards appointed by the factory. He "couldn't believe" this "because they were obviously men of military training." He protests that "the Government" surely wouldn't allow the factory-management to post guards like this ! He gets the answer, "Why not ? *The workers have their own rifles in the factory !*" Very significantly, Sir Walter, who prides himself on doubting everything, on demanding proof for everything, and "saying straight out" that he didn't accept this, that, or the other, *records no investigation into this assertion.* Neither does he register scepticism.

Is it possible that the statement is true ? That it is the workers of the U.S.S.R. who are *armed ?* That the armed forces "of the State" in the U.S.S.R. are part of the worker's means of self-defence ?

Sir Walter who "sought for truth in Russia" did not deem it important to investigate a trivial matter like that. He was too busy noticing the condition of the paint-work, the board-marks on the cement, and the *absence of lifts* in the blocks of working-class dwellings !

This latter gem places Walter-the-Truthseeker with mathematical precision. There are, he says, a number of five-storey blocks of dwellings "*mostly without any lifts.*" (p. 119.)

As we all know, *every* workman's dwelling in Britain without exception has a "lift"—has it not ?

. . .

Towards the end of his book he comes across a report by Molotov, in which he "discovers" that at the beginning of the Five-Year Plan, the overwhelming majority of workers in the U.S.S.R. were absolutely unskilled. That most of the vast construction accomplished in the U.S.S.R. up till now has been achieved by *unskilled workers*—workers who acquired such skill as they now possess in the actual process of practical achievement.

Naturally, as Molotov says, much, in fact most—to an extent *all* of this earlier work was, tried by severe standards, badly done. But it *was* done ; and in the doing the workers have acquired skill, and—much more importantly—have made possible an elaborate system of technical education, which, combined with actual workshop experience, will enable higher and higher standards of quality to be demanded from every worker.

From now on, says Molotov, it will be possible without sacrificing the quantity of output, to raise continually and progressively the standard of quality.

Truth-seeking Sir Walter includes, it is true, a brief summary of Molotov's report. But does he grasp the *truth* that this simple statement of fact knocks the bottom clean out of everything he has noted in his diary ? Not Sir Walter ! He is not a K.B.E. for nothing ! All it means to him is that Molotov also "has joined the critics !"

. . .

Sir Walter's most heartfelt complaint is that he could find nobody who would say a word in "criticism" of Stalin. This didn't seem right to him. The explanation which seemed "obvious" to him was that "nobody dared" to criticise the "Heads."

Walter is good at figuring on the backs of envelopes. If every man in the U.S.S.R. is spied upon as a full time job by everybody else, how in hell does anything ever get done by anybody ? And who spies on the spies ?

It doesn't occur to him that Stalin is not "criticised" for the simple reason that Stalin, instead of being the master of the

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people of the U.S.S.R., is literally their chief servant—carrying out the people's bidding ! That since (as the Webbs show admirably in their *Soviet Communism*) an actual majority of the population is, at any given moment, engaged in the work of either legislation or administration or both—so that " the State " in the U.S.S.R. comes to include, as part of itself, most—eventually *all*—of the people of the U.S.S.R.—any " criticism " of Stalin must also and more primarily be a self-criticism of the people by themselves !

This does not occur to Walter, K.B.E. The notion of *direct* government of the people by the people is beyond him. He has never even heard of it ! Consequently he can only babble—" they don't criticise Stalin ! Therefore they must be afraid ! "

. . .

An example of this *worm's obsession* which would be amusing if it were not so disgusting, is given in his description of a talk with workers at Dneipostroy :—

> " What did I think of the prospects of international Trade Union ' unity.' "
>
> I said that they must remember that this *was a matter of high policy, and I could not say anything very definite about it.* (Who's afraid *now*, Sir Walter ?) It would be interesting for me to know from their point of view exactly what advantages there were in international " unity."
>
> *Immediately, the answer came from the same questioner, that it could be used to fight war and Fascism*, particularly if there was a link established between the British, Russian and French workers.' (p. 199.)

And what did Sir Walter reply to that plain, straighforward, obvious, and unanswerable response ? Not a word about fighting either War or Fascism ; not a word about the need to fight either —just this :—

> This was so similar to a suggestion put to me at the Moscow headquarters that *I sensed some connection.* I replied cautiously, that we had already had an unfortunate experience between 1925-7 of contact with the Russian Trade Union Movement through the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee, of which I was a secretary. *It would need some very convincing evidence to induce the British Trade Unions to repeat that experiment.*

And what, exactly, was there "unfortunate" about his experience ? Sir Walter Truth-seeker doesn't say. But it is no secret. The Russian Unions protested against the shameful betrayal of the General Strike of 1926, and the desertion of the Unions therein involved. This protest, the British T.U.C. (led by " Jimmy " Thomas, of inglorious memory !) regarded as an " interference " with their affairs—with, that is to say, the " right " of the T.U. officials to do what they liked with " their own "—i.e., with the Unions and the members thereof ! That ended the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee. And the fear that this " right " might similarly be " interfered with " were the " unity " restored, determines the attitude of all the would-be " Jimmies " at the head of the British Trade Union Movement !

. . .

It is typical of the worm's mentality exhibited all through his book, that Sir Walter gives a version of the new U.S.S.R. Constitution which is several degrees more absurd than that of a Riga correspondent. " According to Press forecasts," he says, " the new Parliament will consist of an upper and lower chamber." The usual lie.

He doesn't know that even now the All-Russia Executive consists of two halves—one appointed by the All Union Soviet Congress, and one by delegates representing each republic in the Union, two from each republic regardless of size. This latter half is the Council of Nationalities, and each half has collectively a power of veto—provision being made for the settlement of any dispute which may arise.

To describe this as a system of " upper and lower chambers " could only occur to—a K.B.E. with aspirations towards the House of Lords !

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That, perhaps, is why he notes so sharply that it is hard to get into the "Soviet aristocracy" (the C.P.S.U.), but easy to get out again. It is not so in the "democratic" House of Lords, is it, Sir Walter?

T.A.J.

A FORCEFUL RECORD OF LEADERSHIP.

Revolt on the Clyde. William Gallacher, M.P. Lawrence & Wishart. pp. 301 10s. 6d.

THE meeting is organised for the relief of the victims of German Fascism. A benevolent Glasgow Schoolmaster—Dr. Steele—is in the chair. A few of the richer Jews are supporting the platform and the front of the hall is solid with them. It is a respectable meeting—the prices of the seats are graded.

Maxton speaks—or fails to speak. The once brilliant orator is reduced—by the march of events and his inability to march with them—to stammering. McGovern is more stolid but even less inspiring. Toller makes a heroic struggle in a foreign language that puts the Clyde rebels to shame. But withal the meeting badly misses fire. The benevolent Dr. Steele is not quite so benevolent.

Then Gallacher arrives and tries to slip unnoticed on to the platform: he is the last speaker. But the moment Gallacher puts his foot on the platform the atmosphere quickens and in the rear seats there is a movement of relief and expectancy: Wullie's here! The respectables amongst the audience do not understand this movement. Who is this Gallacher?

Then Dr. Steele rises to introduce Willie of the Communist Party. He is an old friend of Willie's . . . (It is difficult to know from Willie's face how he is taking this.)

But, of course, the meeting is non-political—politics are not to be even hinted at.

Gallacher rises to a storm of applause. He waves this aside: he is impatient to start. You get the impression of vitality, strength and purpose: especially determined purpose. Gallacher launches into his speech. He is not a tall man but not only does he dominate the meeting he dominates the platform. The hall and the platform are too small for him. Were the platform a mile long he would still dominate it.

He is the Worker as Leader. He is also a natural artist of genius. As a mass speaker he is absolutely without rival in Scotland. And then after a brilliant, magnificently-delivered political analysis, he turns to the slightly-alarmed Dr. Steele and says: 'But, of course: I don't want to introduce politics.' The meeting is Gallacher's: and in the end the platform party fade away—but not before Ernst Toller has rushed forward and wrung Gallacher's hand in gratitude. The richer Jews have gone to their cars. But the boys won't let Gallacher go: he stands there alone leading The International.

It is necessary to give this short picture of Gallacher, because there is a wide feeling among the bourgeois critics and certain bourgeois elements in the working class movement that Gallacher is a supreme egotist and that his unbridled egotism mitigates—if it does not destroy—the value of his autobiographical survey here under notice.

(The leading conservative daily in Scotland says for example: "This is the writing of a man intoxicated by spite and egotism. His account of his own part in the George Square riot is an orgy of braggadocio . . ." *Glasgow Herald*, 30th June, 1936.)

Certainly Gallacher is an egotist: a healthy and vibrant egotist. But what is the basis of his necessary and essential egotism?

It arises from his profound and unshakable grasp of the essentials of men and events; his proud faith in the power of the working class; and the robust, honest and down-right nature of his character.

There is no call, however, to defend Gallacher here: his is an honoured name

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before the international working class. In giving us some of the important highlights of his career, Gallacher has performed a valuable task. The events described are of the greatest import to the workers in Britain. Especially the war-time period on the Clyde. As a record of the workers' struggle, as an insight into the circumstances that contributed to the shaping of a great workers' leader, its importance cannot be overstressed. It supplements a more exhaustive, detailed and factual study of the period, for Gallacher was in many important aspects of many important struggles the central dynamic force. This aspect of the work, the record of living history, could have been supplied by no other man.

The narration is engrossing: the style as vivid and forceful as Gallacher himself. The reader will find the most revealing (and where merited the most generous) estimates of men like MacDonald, Henderson, Shinwell, Kirkwood, Maxton, John MacLean, Muir, Wheatley, Adamson: and dozens more. Inevitably there are names one misses. Conspicuous is that old veteran, Jimmy Johnston, who was a MacLean in his way and a ceaseless agitator.

The main lesson to be drawn from the book is that however courageous and militant the workers may be, they are almost certainly doomed to failure without an equally courageous, trained and level-headed leadership—and an organisation built around this leadership.

Read in the light of the man and the events in which he moved, it should prove a valuable weapon in the building up of the unity of the workers against the twin dangers of Fascism and War. Already a cheap edition of the work becomes a political necessity.

J. B.

PRE-MARXIST MATERIALISM.

Baron d'Holbach: A Prelude to the French Revolution. By W. H. Wickwar. Allen and Unwin. 7s. 6d.

D'HOLBACH, with Helvetius and Diderot, made up the great triumvirate of French materialists, ideological forerunners of the revolution of 1789. A knowledge of the philosophical position of the earlier materialists is essential for the thorough understanding of the developmental stages in philosophy and world-outlook which culminated in the practical scientific generalisations of the dialectical materialism of Marx and Engels. Diderot was certainly the most brilliant of the three. Not only was he a definite materialist, but he also showed in some of his work a recognition of the dialectical character of natural phenomena. He did not apply and work out these ideas in any large-scale works. Others developed various sides of the general materialist thought with respect to man, society and the state. Much of it was criticism, by implication, of the existing conditions in that semi-feudal monarchical epoch.

The present book contains much interesting material showing the scope of d'Holbach's contribution to the literature and propaganda of the Enlightenment. Nearly all his work was published either under the names of writers already dead (as supposed posthumous works) or anonymously. D'Holbach was rich and could supply at his house in Paris or in the country, a meeting place for radical and progressive writers and thinkers, where free discussion took place, and all the intellectual ferment of the coming revolution was expressed.

Besides his own voluminous writings, d'Holbach translated or edited much foreign work; he was also responsible for many of the scientific articles in the Encyclopedia of Diderot and d'Alembert. All this is well described and there are valuable appendices showing the publications with which d'Holbach is known to have been associated, either as author, editor or translator.

The second part of the book studies the development of d'Holbach's thought "... after attacking the social consequences of religion .... he offered an alternative and materialist explanation of nature in general and human life in particular—a mechanistic metaphysics and a mechanistic psychology" (p. 147.). This d'Holbach

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developed as the study of man in society and of the corresponding ideological superstructures, expressed as a general utilitarianism. This second half of the book is more valuable for the copious quotations from d'Holbach—the author wished to let d'Holbach speak for himself—than for the author's commentary.

The weakness of the book is that the author does not see d'Holbach historically in the line of development of materialism ; or if he does so, it is only backward and not forward. Thus his opinion of the value of d'Holbach's work for to-day is " that some few of his books might still be useful against proletarian Christianity ; but to a communist intellectual he must seem doubly condemned, being neither materialist enough nor historian enough." (p. 118). Similarly Mr. Wickwar asserts that " Marx named the father of materialism only to damn him, one day as an atheist and nothing more, and the next as a utilitarian to be mentioned in the same breath as Bentham " (p. 116). What the author does not seem to understand is that the " communist intellectual " studies past thinkers, not because he hopes to find some " pure doctrine " in one or other of them, but in order to study the development of ideas, of human thinking, and their relation to historical circumstances, including those of the present time. One would not damn a primitive motor-car because it could not do 100 m.p.h. ; one would want to know what it could do and how it did it ; it would be studied to understand how the modern car has developed. It is simply a libel on Marx to represent his criticism of d'Holbach in the above way. Both in " Die Deutsche Ideologie " and in " Die Heilige Familie " (quoted in Engels' " Ludwig Feuerbach " pp. 81-90.) Marx gave considered judgments of d'Holbach ; not at all like Mr. Wickwar's trivial remarks about Marx. The author is quite out of his depth with anything relating to Marxism (which mercifully he only touches once or twice), for example : " according to the Marxist anachronism of interpreting 1789 in the light of 1848." Briefly therefore the book's value lies in the material it contains, which has been conscientiously collected ; the author's commentary is of little value from the point of view of Marxism. The full Marxist study of d'Holbach remains to be written, meanwhile Plekhanov's essay[1] remains the best available, although Mr. Wickwar doesn't like it.

JONATHAN KEMP.

PARES ON THE NEW RUSSIA.

Moscow Admits a Critic. By Sir Bernard Pares. (Nelson.) 94 pp. 2s. 6d.

HERE is another enthusiastic book about Russia, but this time by a scholar, head of the School for Slavonic Studies (stronghold of anti-Soviet propaganda) and former avowed enemy of the Soviet Union. Sir Bernard took an active part in the intervention and on the basis of his past activities was barred from the Soviet Union for a number of years. He has a very good knowledge of Tzarist Russia where he lived from 1904 to 1913 and speaks Russian fluently. During his recent trip to the Soviet Union he spent most of the time in Moscow, visited factories, schools, theatres and museums and had talks with people in the street, peasants and leading members of the trade unions, Communist Party, etc.

Being a scholar himself, he was particularly interested in the question of education and schools. He was struck by the high quality of teaching in elementary schools and their " excellent equipment." He concludes by saying : " I must describe the atmosphere in the schools as brimming with health." He also admits that " education which is so very heavy a charge for our own middle class is practically off the map in Russia." On visiting several museums he writes : " Extra mural education largely by illustration is particularly well developed, and the use which is made of the many well-arranged museums could with great advantage be imitated here." Commenting with great interest on the theatres, he adds : " that perhaps the most striking feature there

[1] Published in Essays in the History of Materialism. (Lane). 7s. 6d.

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was the audience and one could only rejoice at its universality and simplicity."

Coming out shortly before Citrine's "search for Untruth about Russia," this book presents a real contrast to that gentleman's vapourings.

Perhaps the most striking observation made by Pares is that in Moscow to-day *the people and the Government seem to be made of the same stock.* This should have provided the key to all the tremendous changes witnessed by him. But Sir Bernard does not realise it. In a chapter called "What we owe to Hitler," and also in his conclusion he attributes all the progress made in Russia such as socialist prosperity, growing democracy and freedom to the fear of Hitler and Japan. He develops a foolish theory that the Soviet Government want to come to terms with its own population to ensure its support in case of an attack by Germany or Japan. He absolutely fails to see that it is just the hard struggle against all counter-revolutionaries (which he deplores very much), the fight against the kulaks for a socialist agriculture which made possible the present state of things. I would also like to ask Sir Bernard whether he attributes the new Soviet Constitution, one of the greatest documents in the history of humanity, to the influence of Fascist Dictatorship in Germany.

Many of the things described in this book are already known to those who follow the developments in the Soviet Union, but this book is written with such refeshing sincerity and vividness that it makes very interesting reading.

TAMARA RUST.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Palestine, 27 pp. ; *China*, 24 pp. League Against Imperialism, 53 Grays Inn Road, W.C.1. 1d. each.

India and the World. Jawaharlal Nehru. (Allen and Unwin.) 262 pp. 5s.

Memorandum on Projected Legislation Affecting Rights and Liberties of Africans in Southern Rhodesia and Kenya. The London Group on African Affairs. 12 pp. 3d.

The Basis and Essentials of Russian. Charles Duff and A. M. Krougliakoff. (Nelson and Sons.) 215 pp. 5s.

Transition : A Quarterly Review. No 24. June, 1936. (Faber and Faber.) 144 pp. 3s.

The Case for Capitalism. L. Stratford Houghton. (The C. W. Daniel Co. Ltd.) 62 pp. 1s.

Days of Contempt. André Malraux. (Gollancz.) 176 pp. 6s.

Choose a Bright Morning. Hillel Bernstein. (Gollancz.) 208 pp. 6s.

Foreign Trade. Harold Barger. (New Fabian Research Bureau.) 39 pp. 6d.

Standards of Starvation. (Labour Research Department.) 15 pp. 1d.

Spain To-day. Edward Conze. (Martin Secker and Warburg Ltd.) 143 pp. 3s. 6d.

Democracy and Revolution. Louis A. Fenn. (Student Christian Movement Press.) 143 pp. 2s. 6d. (paper) and 3s. 6d. (cloth).

The Independent Labour Party and International Socialism during the World War. Benjamin Sacks, Ph.D. (University of New Mexico Bulletin.) No. 290. 32 pp. No price stated.

Aircraft Workers' Case. The Aircraft Shop Stewards' National Council, 9 Grange Road, Kingston-on-Thames. 16 pp. 1d.

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The Financial Appeal

LAST month we drew attention to the international character of the support the LABOUR MONTHLY receives. A batch of Birthday gifts from New Zealand has now arrived to give this further proof. In this batch is a generous gift from one of the Labour members of Parliament in New Zealand where readers will recall a Labour Government has just recently come into power. The donor of this gift, an old reader of the MONTHLY, sends an accompanying letter which it is felt should stimulate others to renewed efforts and therefore is quoted in full :

> Never was there a greater need, manifest for an organ of plain and straight dealing, as between persons and groups and nations generally as there is at the present time. We hear the old capitalist cry, that women and men will not do, or give of their best, unless they are paid in £ s. d. The writers of your powerful paper give the lie direct to such statements, as indeed the great volume of Labour and Socialist effort right down the ages can also testify. We advocate a 40-hour week for others and those of us who have the duty and responsibility of framing and getting such into the legislation of this or any other country, I suppose work any old hours. I know mine now is not anything like a 40-hour week, but then, we did not expect it to be such when we went into the job. We, like all others in the struggle, find glorious satisfaction in seeing some tangible results from long years of what, at some stages, seemed almost hopeless effort ; yet we now see, as you, in your capacity, where you are, also see, some movement towards a larger outlook towards our objective, and your organ's share in that greater outlook will, when history is written, be of no meagre dimensions. Of this I have no hesitation whatsoever in saying. I sincerely hope you will have a good response to your appeal.

The effort as we mentioned last month is needed to liquidate the accumulated debt of £290 and to meet the deficit which now stands at £22 per month.

The numbers of birthday gifts to celebrate the MONTHLY'S 15th Anniversary was very encouraging, and it is hoped that readers will endeavour to continue to support this appeal even amidst all other urgent calls such as for Spain, which we realise they must also meet. Therefore fill in what you can on the form overleaf and forward it us as soon as possible.

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DEBT AND BIRTHDAY FUND.

	£	s.	d.
Previously acknowledged	47	19	4
X.Y.Z.	0	2	0
G. Mearns, Oldham ..	0	5	0
Dartford Co-op. Group	0	5	0
F. Crump, Cheshire ..	0	2	0
G.T.G., London, N. ..	10	0	0
"Wolverhampton" ..	0	10	0
F. Soloveichik, S. Africa..	0	2	6
G. R., London, S.E. ..	0	2	6
J. G. Burki, Alberta, Canada	0	8	0
J. W. B., Conn., U.S.A. ..	1	0	0
M. Mareda P. Roberts, Cheshire	0	5	0
Orkneyman	0	10	0
G. A. Conquest, Pembrokeshire	0	2	0
Carried forward	61	13	4

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	61	13	4
Per Book and Stationery Shop, Toronto ..	0	13	6
Anon., Prescot, Lancs. ..	1	0	0
Anon., West Wickham ..	0	2	6
J. Danielli, Surrey ..	0	6	9
J. B., Beds.	0	1	6
E. J. Pittman, Santiago de Chile	0	10	0
P. Neilson, M.P., New Zealand	1	0	0
P., Lower Hutt, New Zealand	0	10	0
W. H. D., New Zealand	1	0	0
	£66	17	7

GUARANTEE FUND

(Amount of Monthly Guarantee).

	£	s.	d.
Previously acknowledged	16	16	1
Mrs. J. M. Crawford	0	2	6
	£16	18	7

In addition, 2s. has been received from X.Y.Z. and 1s. from Tom Paine for the Guarantee Fund.

To the Manager, THE LABOUR MONTHLY, 7 John Street, London, W.C.1.

**In response to your appeal I enclose herewith the sum of* ..... *as a contribution to the* LABOUR MONTHLY *Debt Fund.*

**I promise to send the sum of* .....*monthly to the Guarantee Fund until further notice and enclose a first instalment of* .....

* Strike out whichever sentence does not apply.

Name .....

Address .....

.....

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July, 1936

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